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VAIŚRAVAṆAYAJÑA IN THE *TAITTIRĪYA ĀRAṆYAKA* - SOME OBSERVATIONS[1]

N. K. Sundareswaran*

In his *Śrautasūtra,* Baudhāyana ordains: 'While (the *Adhvarāhuti*) is being offered, the *Vaiśravaṇayajña* is to be performed which is prescribed in the *Brāhmaṇa.* The *Vaiśravaṇayajña* should be performed on every *Parvan*-day for a sacrificer desiring food or entertaining any other desire'[2]. The context being the conclusion of the *āruṇaketukacayana,* we understand that the *Vaiśravaṇayajña,* which is prescribed at the end of *Āruṇaketukacayana,* can be performed as an independent rite as well. That is why Sāyaṇa says: अस्य च वैश्रवणयज्ञस्य आरुणकेतुकान्तःप्रयोगो बहिश्च स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रयोग इत्युभयप्रकारो विद्यते ।

The Brāhmaṇa text that describes the *Vaiśravaṇayajña* is the 31st *anuvāka* of the first chapter *(prapāṭhaka)* of *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[3]. This *prapāṭhaka* contains *mantra*-s for *Āruṇaketukacayana.* Incidentally it may be noted that the *Śrīvidyā* tradition treats this *prapāṭhaka* as an *Upaniṣat* dealing with *Śrīvidyā.* They call

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2 ''हूयमानायां वैश्रवणयज्ञो ब्राह्मणेन व्याख्यातोऽन्नकामस्य सर्वकामस्य वा पर्वणि पर्वणि वैश्रवणयज्ञः । सोत्तरवेदिषु क्रतुषु चिन्वीतेति यथाब्राह्मणम् । *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra,* edited and translated by C. G. Kashikar

3 Sāyaṇa introduces the passage as 'अथ वैश्रवणयज्ञमन्त्रा उच्यन्ते ।'

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this by the name *Aruṇopaniṣat*[4]. Besides, in South India, there is the tradition of doing *Sūryanamaskāra* with this *prapāṭhaka*[5].

The *Vaiśravaṇayajña* is a small rite containing seven constituent elements, as is explained by Sāyaṇa. These are 1) *āvāhana* (ceremonially inviting/drawing by force the deity or spirit), 2) *baliharaṇa* (offering the oblation), which is optional, 3) *upasthāna* (propitiating the deity by a hymn or passage of praise), 4) *agnyādhāna*[6] (ceremonial inception of sacrificial fire), 5) *agnisamindhana* (enkindling the sacrificial fire), 6) another *baliharaṇa,* which seems to be an oblation into agni and 7) the final *upasthāna.*

C. G. Kashikar, in his edition of the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra,* has given a translation of the passage (i.e. the 31st *anuvāka* of the first chapter of *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*) as a note, with the introductory remark 'TĀ 1.31 prescribes (the rite)[7].

Shri Kashikar has followed Sāyaṇa in translating the passage. Actually it is not a translation in the strict sense of the term. He has left out some sentences which are impertinent from the angle of procedural details. The text proclaims in the middle of the passage: 'Thus end the *mantra*-s. Here after it is the *kalpa* which follows (इति मन्त्राः कल्पोऽत ऊर्ध्वम्). This he has left out. Similarly, he has left out the sentences 'मा स्म प्रमाद्यन्तमाध्यापयेत् । सर्वार्थाः सिध्यन्ते । य एवं वेद । क्षुद्यन्निदमजानताम् । सर्वार्था न सिध्यन्ते । This passage ordains that the *mantra*-s meant for *Vaiśravaṇayajña*

4 cf.

i. 'अरुणोपनिषन्नाम् - अरुणाया भगवत्याः प्रतिपादिका उपनिषत् । भद्रं कर्णेभिरित्यारभ्य तपस्वी पुण्यो भवतीत्यन्ता अरुणोपनिषद् अरुणामेव प्रतिपादयति । इममर्थं दृष्टवान् अरुणकेतुः ऋषिः' - Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on the verse '*caturbhiḥ śrīkaṇṭhaiḥ* etc.' of *Saundaryalaharī* (11).

ii. 'अस्य इयञ्च उपनिषत्सर्वापि भगवतीपरैव । उपबृंहणदर्शनात् अरुणोपनिषद्गीतेति श्यामलासहस्रनामेषु पाठाच्च' - *Saubhāgyabhāskara* commentary on *Lalitāsahasranāma,* p.84

5 It may be noted that the Vedic tradition holds that this *prapāṭhaka* is one among the five chapters of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* which have their origin in *Kaṭhaśākhā.*

6 Sāyaṇa calls this as *agnisthāpana.*

7 *The Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra,* cr. ed. (with English tr., in four vol.s) by C. G. Kashikar, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi & Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 2003, Vol. III, p. 1312 (Note no. 51).

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should not be taught to a careless and sacrilegious person. It further praises these *mantra*-s by saying that one who understands these in the prescribed way is sure to attain all his desires. Apart from these intended omissions, this English rendering of Kashikar, follows the commentary of Sāyaṇa, but for some slight variations.

We propose to make a close study on the nature of this rite, the identity of Vaiśravaṇa, and the interpretation of the passage by Sāyaṇa.

Some Textual Problems

The text proclaims in the middle of the passage : 'Thus end the mantra-s. Here after it is the *kalpa* which follows (इति मन्त्राः कल्पोऽत ऊर्ध्वम्). *Kalpa* means instructive passage giving procedural details. But what follows is not exclusively procedural details. We get only six instructive passages[8] intermixed with *mantra*-s. The very next sentence after this proclamation instructs as to what one should do in case he opts for the *'baliharaṇa'*. Nothing is said about the other option, i.e. if he opts not to perform *'baliharaṇa'*.

Clearly the said proclamation indicates the co-emergence of different types (genres) of Vedic texts like *Atharvāṅgiras, Brāhmaṇa, Kalpa, Nārāśamsī gāthā* etc. during the formation of the *Āraṇyaka* text[9]. But it needs to be probed whether it points to the pre-existence of a greater text, *Kalpa* or *Brāhmaṇa*.

We find it difficult to explain some parts of the passage. Let us take up two instances. The second *'ṛk'* runs as

त्वाष्ट्रीं मायां वैश्रवणः । रथँ सहस्रवन्धुरम् ॥
पुरुश्चक्रँ सहस्राश्वम् । आस्थायायाहि नो बलिम् ॥

This, as the verb *āyāhi* indicates, is an invitation. To whom is it addressed? If it is to Kubera, then what does Vaiśravaṇa, denoted by the term *vaiśravaṇaḥ*

8 1) यदि बलिं हरेत्, 2) अथ बलिं हत्वोपतिष्ठेत्, 3) अथ तमग्निमादधीत । यस्मिन्नेतत्कर्म प्रयुञ्जीत, 4) अथ तमग्निमिन्धीत । यस्मिन्नेतत्कर्म प्रयुञ्जीत, 5) यस्मिन्नस्य काले सर्वा आहुतीर्हुता भवेयुः । तस्मिन्नह्नः काले प्रयपञ्जीत । परस्सुप्तजनाद्वेपि and 6) मा स्म प्रमाद्यन्तमाध्यापयेत्.

9 This is supported by several passages like the following one, which appears in the next *prapāṭhaka* of the *Āraṇyaka*: 'तेनाथर्वाङ्गिरसो ब्राह्मणानीतिहासान् पुराणानि कल्पान् गाथा नाराशँसीः प्रीणाति' *(Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* - 2.11)

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in the nominative case, have to do with this? In order to overcome this constraint, Sāyaṇa explains the term *vaiśravaṇaḥ* as 'along with Vaiśravaṇa (हे कुबेर वैश्रवणसहितस्त्वं रथमास्थाय नो बलिम् अस्मदीयां पूजां प्रति आगच्छ). Bhaṭṭabhāskara takes the passage as addressed to Vaiśravaṇa and interprets the term *vaiśravaṇaḥ* as a vocative one. The word *sahasravandhuraṃ* has, with great constraint, been explained by both to mean 'a chariot whose forepart has been adorned by wheels having a multitude of spokes'.[10]

Similarly the word *satadvāṭṭāragamantā* in the 'ṛk' सुदर्शने च क्रौञ्चे च etc. is stretched far to mean a city having hundreds of gates, inner chambers and pathways. The full 'ṛk' runs as

सुदर्शने च क्रौञ्चे च । मैनागे च महागिरौ ।
सतद्वाट्टारगमन्ता । सँहार्यन्नगरन्तव ॥

Here, as we have seen, both Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara take the term *'satadvāṭṭāragamantā* as an adjective to the noun *'nagaraṃ'*. We may presume that there is a city in the high mountains for Kubera/ Vaiśravaṇa. Why is it requested that it should be withdrawn/closed/destroyed? Sāyaṇa interprets the term '*saṁhāryaṃ* to mean 'you please leave it and come to receive our *pūjā*[11]. Bhaṭṭabhāskara, as if not satisfied with the explanation adds 'इह हि त्वय्यागते तत्र द्वाराणि पिधीयन्ते अट्टाराश्च निषिध्यन्ते रथ्याश्च निवृत्तजनसञ्चारा भवन्ति.' (When you come over here, there in your city, the gates would be closed, entry would be denied to the inner chambers and the streets would be free of people).

The sentence 'सतद्वाट्टारगमन्ता । सँहार्यन्नगरन्तव ॥' has been interpreted to describe the *Śrīcakra* in the *Śrīvidyā* tradition. Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on the verse '*caturbhiḥ śrīkaṇṭhaiḥ* etc. of ***Saundaryalaharī*** (11) cites this sentence and explains in relation to *Śrīcakra*.

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10 Sāyaṇa writes: 'अराणां सहस्रं यच्चक्रं सहस्रवत् । तद्युक्ता धूर्यस्य रथस्य सोऽयं सहस्रवन्धुरस्तादृशम्'. Bhaṭṭabhāskara while taking cue with Sāyaṇa, substantiates the explanation with Pāṇinian rules as : 'अराणां सहस्रं यस्मिन्नस्ति तच्चक्रं सहस्रम् मत्वर्थीयोऽकारः । तादृशचक्रवती धूर्यस्य रथस्य स सहस्रवन्धुरः । वर्णव्यत्ययेन मतुप्रकारस्य नकारः ।'

11 Kashikar translates the sentence सँहार्यन्नगरन्तव as 'Thou shouldst avoid the city'.

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In the first *'upasthānamantra'*

'क्षत्रङ्क्षत्रं वैश्रवणः । ब्राह्मणा वयँ स्मः ।
नमस्ते अस्तु मा मा हिंसीः । **अस्मात्प्रविश्यान्नमद्धीति'**

what does the term *'kṣatraṃ'* mean? It has been repeated. Do these terms mean the same? Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara interpret the first term as 'one who protects (living beings) from wound or injury' and the second term as the *'kṣatriya'* class, so as to get the purport of the passage as 'Oh Vaiśravaṇa! You are a *kṣatriya* who protects all living beings from all adversaries. And I am a Brahmin. As we have to cooperate and protect each other, you should not harm me. Moreover I pay obeisance to you. Therefore you may come and receive our offerings'. Both the concept of the *kṣatra* class protecting a clan or a society and a yearning for a beneficial union of *brahman* and *kṣatra* classes are repeatedly expressed in many of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts[12]. But Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera do not belong to the class of *kṣatra* either by birth or by virtue of their actions. Hence this interpretation seems to be an extraneous reading into the text.

Variations in the ritualistic interpretation

The rites of *agnyādhāna* and *agnisamindhana* are prescribed by the text itself (अथ तमग्निमादधीत । यस्मिन्नेतत्कर्म प्रयुञ्जीत and अथ तमग्निमिन्धीत । यस्मिन्नेतत्कर्म प्रयुञ्जीत). But what is meant by the words *'ādhāna'* and *'indhana'* ? Sāyaṇa takes *ādhāna* for 'placing on the floor'[13]. Bhaṭṭabhāskara simply says 'the fire (in which the rite of *Vaiśravaṇabali* is to be performed) should be placed. He does not

12 See for instance the passages

i) 'क्षत्रियोऽजनि विश्वस्य भूतस्याधिपतिरजनि विश्वमत्ताजनि अमित्राणां हन्ताजनि ब्राह्मणानां गोप्ताजनि' - *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8.17

ii) 'ब्रह्म च क्षत्रं चाशास्त उभे वीर्ये' - *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.6.3.12

iii) 'ब्रह्मणि खलु वै क्षत्रं प्रतिष्ठितम् क्षत्रे ब्रह्म' - *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 8.36.2

iv) 'ब्रह्मणैव क्षत्रं सँश्यति क्षत्रेण ब्रह्म तस्माद् ब्राह्मणो राजन्यवानत्यन्यं ब्राह्मणं तस्माद्राजन्यो ब्राह्मणवानत्यन्यँ राजन्यम्' - *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* 5.1.10.3

13 cf. 'अग्निस्थापनं विधते ... यस्मिन्नाग्नौ वैश्रवणबल्याख्यमेतत्कर्म प्रयुज्यते तमग्निं पूर्वोक्तोपस्थानान्तरं भूमौ स्थापयेत् ।'

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specify as to where it is to be placed. Is this *agnyādhāna* a mere placing of fire on the floor? Or is it a specific rite? We know that in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature the term means a detailed and elaborate rite. It may not mean the same here. But we cannot brush aside the possibility of it being a technical term carrying a different or added meaning. Regarding the *agnisamindhana*, Bhaṭṭabhāskara differs from Sāyaṇa. Bhaṭṭabhāskara takes it to be 'rekindling of fire'. He explains the word *'indhīta'* as *'uddīpayet'*. Sāyaṇa while explaining the term *svāhā* in the *mantra* 'तिरोधा भूः स्वाहा' etc. writes 'समिदियं स्वाहुतमस्तु'. It shows that he takes *'samindhana'* for *'samidādhāna'*, i.e. offering a *'samit'* as an *'āhuti'*.

These variations in the interpretations, though slight ones, indicate that there had never been consistency or continuity in the performance of the rite. In this connection, a statement of Bhaṭṭabhāskara that appears at the end of the *anuvāka* attracts our attention. He writes:

'सूत्रकारेण त्वन्यथा प्रयोग उक्तः । स इह ब्राह्मणविरोधाच्चिन्त्य इति नोक्तः'

(The author of *Sūtra*-s has laid down the performance in a different manner. We have not discussed it here since the same contradicts with the *Brāhmaṇa* text). It is to be investigated as to which passage or the utterances of which *Sūtrakāra* is being criticized by Bhaṭṭabhāskara.

***Vaiśravaṇayajña* or *Vaiśravaṇabali*?**

The text does not give any name for the rite. Both Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara name the rite *Vaiśravaṇayajña*, in their introductory remark (to the passage), probably following Baudhāyana. But, afterwards, both call it *Vaiśravaṇabali*. It can be seen that the core element of the rite is the *Bali* offering. The term *'yajña'* is employed in the Vedic literature to mean 'offering of oblations to Gods' (देवतोद्देशेन द्रव्यत्यागः). The term *'bali'* on the other hand, is used when the offering is made to spirits of lesser rank or evil spirits or birds and animals. *'Rudrabali'*, *'Sarpabali'* and *'Vāyasabali'* are some instances. Rudra is considered *yajñabāhya* and *yajñaśiṣṭa* is offered to him. Even in the *gṛhya* and *smārtta* rites *Bali* is offered to Rudra at the end.

The *bhūtayajña* of the *Pañcamahāyajña* concept in the Vedic tradition is

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often defined as *baliharaṇa*[14]. The authors of *Gṛhyasūtra*-s like *Āśvalāyana, Bhāradvāja* and *Baudhāyana* call it as *baliharaṇa*. So also does Gautama, in his *Dharmasūtra*[15]. In this rite, *Bali* (offerings of food) is offered to various deities/ spirits (*bhūta*-s) at various places, often not into the sacrificial fire[16]. Some of the *Gṛhyasūtra*-s include Vaiśravaṇa among the *bhūta-s* to whom *Bali* is ordained to be offered[17].

The list of *bhūta*-s prescribed by *Gṛhyasūtra*-s contains deities of the Vedic pantheon like Prajāpati, Agni, Soma, and Viśve devāḥ; non-Vedic gods like Bhadrakāḷī and Dhanvantari; the guardians of cardinal directions like Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and Soma; the deities of Death, *Dharma, Adharma* etc. ; deities/ spirits who are ascribed the protection of different spaces and parts of the house like Dhātṛ, Vidhātṛ, Bhūti, Prabhūti, Rudra, Rudrāṇī, Gṛha, Oṣadhi, Vanaspati etc.; natural forces like Ap, Vāyu etc.; evil spirits and harmful beings like Rakṣodevajana, Sarpadevajana, Pannaga, Guhyaka, Yakṣa, Pipīlikā, Ṛkṣa etc. It seems that some of the *bhūta*-s, to whom *Bali* is offered, are evil spirits. The *Bali* is offered to them not in order that they do not harm but protect.

There is a *mantra* prescribed by Baudhāyana and Āpastamba in the *Baliharaṇa*. It runs as

ये भूताः प्रचरन्ति दिवा नक्तं बलिमिच्छन्तो वितुदस्य प्रेष्याः ।
तेभ्यो बलिं पुष्टिकामो हरामि मयि पुष्टिपतिर्ददातु स्वाहा ॥[18]

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14 cf. यद्भूतेभ्यो बलिं हरति तद्भूतयज्ञः सन्तिष्ठते (*Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*)

15 He enumerates *Pañcamahāyajña*-s by the *sūtra* 'देवपितृमनुष्ययज्ञाः स्वाध्यायश्च बलिकर्म' (*Gautamadharmasūtra* 1.5.8)

16 Haradatta, while explaining the *sūtra* 'अग्नावग्निर्धन्वन्तरिर्विश्वे देवाः प्रजापतिः स्विष्टकृदिति होमः'. writes: 'अग्नाविति वचनं बलिहरणवद्भूमौ न कर्तव्यमिति वचनार्थम्'. This implies that *baliharaṇa* is usually done on the floor.

17 धनधान्याकाशे धनधान्याभ्यां स्वाहा वैश्रवण्या स्वाहेति – *Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra* 2.8.20; बहिर्वैश्रवणायेति बहिः प्राचीम् – *Mānavagṛhyasūtra* - 2.12.10

18 This mantra is the concluding one of the 65th *anuvāka* of the 10th *Prapāṭhaka* of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. This *anuvāka* contains *mantra*-s prescribed by *Āpastamba* for the *Vaiśvadeva* rite.

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(I offer this *Bali* to those *bhūta*-s sent by *Vituda* who roam about day and night, craving for the *Bali*. I do this aspiring for *puṣṭi* (prosperity). May the Lord of *puṣṭi* bestow it upon me). The term *'vituda'*, literally means 'one who afflicts'[19]. A similar *mantra* appears in the *Mantrapraśna* of the *Āpastamba* School. Prescribed as a *homamantra* in the *Jātakarman* rite, the *mantra* reads as

मिश्रवाससः कौबेरका रक्षोराजेन प्रेषिताः ।
ग्रामँ सजानयो गच्छन्तीच्छन्तोऽपरिदाकृतान्स्वाहा ॥[20]

Haradatta, the commentator of *Mantrapraśna* explains this to mean : 'Evil spirits who use a common attire, who are the servants of Kubera the king of *rakṣasas*, and who are sent by them wander in the villages, craving for small children who are yet to undergo the *upanayana* ceremony. They travel along with their wives (O Agni! Kindly extinguish all those evil spirits).'[21] This, in fact, is one of the several *mantra*-s containing the description of evil spirits which wander in the villages craving for (to eat up) small children. Here, these spirits are said to be sent by Kubera, the king of *rakṣasas*.

The *Pāriplavākhyāna* of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (14.4.3.10) explicitly states that Kubera the Vaiśravaṇa is the king of *rakṣasas* or evil spirits. It further states that evil doers and robbers throng around him[22].

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19 It may be noted that the term, with a slight variation, as '*vitudi*', appears in the *baliharaṇamantra* of *Vaiśravaṇayajña* as well.

20 *Mantrapraśna* -2.13.12 . This text forms 25th and 26th *praśna*-s (chapters) of *Āpastamba's Kalpasūtra*. It is a collection of *mantra*-s (Vedic) which are to be uttered along with the various domestic rituals prescribed by *Āpastambagṛhyasūtra*. For more details see *Mantrapraśna* in the *Āpastamba* school and the *Mantrabrāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda - some observations, Brahmavidya* (The Adyar Library Bulletin) Vol. 72-73, 2008-2009

21 The text of Haradatta reads as मिश्रेति । मिश्रवाससः अन्योन्यम् । कौबेरकाः कुबेरस्य भृत्याः कौबेराः, ते कुत्सिताः कौबेरकाः, तेनैव रक्षोराजेन कुबेरेण प्रेषिताः । सजानयः, सभार्याः । ग्रामं गच्छन्त इच्छन्तः । अपरिदाकृतान् अग्नये त्वा इत्यादिभिर्मन्त्रैः देवताभ्यो रक्षार्थं दद्वत्त्वद्भिः परिदाकृताः, ततोऽन्ये अपरिदाकृताः अनुपनीता बालाः । तान्निच्छन्तः एतान् । '

22. कुबेरो वैश्रवणो राजा । तस्य रक्षांसि विशः । तानीमान्यासत इति । सेलगाः पापकृत उपसमेता भवन्ति ।'

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Hence, a *Bali* is usually offered to evil spirits or harmful beings. And Vaiśravaṇa, or Kubera to whom he is closely associated, is the king of *rākṣasas*. Thus it seems that Vaiśravaṇa is originally meant to be an evil spirit to whom *Bali* is offered. And thus the rite should be called *Vaiśravaṇabali* and not *Vaiśravaṇayajña*.

Time prescribed for the *Bali*

The time prescribed for the *Bali* by the *Āraṇyaka* passage is after all the *homa*-s set forth by the *Brāhmaṇa* are over, or, after everybody is asleep (यस्मिन्नस्य काले सर्वा आहुतीर्हुता भवेयुः । तस्मिन्नह्नः काले प्रयुञ्जीत परस्सुप्तजनाद्वेपि ।). This prescription also shows that the rite is something of the sort of *ābhicāra* or inauspicious act. This is an indication that the *Bali* is offered to an evil spirit.

Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera?

Both Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara seem to be confused as to whom *Bali* is to be offered. The confusion, actually has its roots in the *baliharaṇamantra*-s. As we have seen, there are two *Bali*-s, and two corresponding *baliharaṇamantra*-s. As per the first *baliharaṇamantra*, the *Bali* is to be offered to Kaubera, the *Hiraṇyanābhi*. He is a *vitudi* too (हिरण्यनाभये वितुदये कौबेरायायं बलिः । सर्वभूताधिपतये नमः इति). *Kaubera* means somebody related to Kubera. Sāyaṇa interprets it so only[23]. He further specifies it to be Vaiśravaṇa (कुबेरस्य सम्बन्धी वैश्रवण - कौबेरः ... यथोक्तगुणयुक्ताय वैश्रवणायायं बलिर्मया दत्तः). Bhaṭṭabhāskara interprets the term as 'the son of Kubera *(kuberaputra)*'. The *mantra* prescribed for the second *baliharaṇa* is:

यस्ते विद्यातुको भ्राता । ममान्तर्हृदये श्रितः ।
तस्मा इममग्रपिण्डञ्जुहोमि । स मेऽर्थान्मा विवधीत् । मयि स्वाहा ॥'

Here somebody is addressed and is pleaded for protection from his brother who has a destructive nature. And the *Bali* is offered to the destructive brother. According to Sāyaṇa, Kubera is addressed and the *Bali* is offered to Vaiśravaṇa (हे कुबेर विघातुकः सर्वेषां हिरण्यलाभविघ्नकरणशीलस्ते तव भ्राता वैश्रवणः सोऽयं ममान्तर्हृदये ध्येयत्वेनाऽऽश्रितः तस्मै वैश्रवणायेममग्रपिण्डं श्रेष्ठपिण्डं जुहोमि ।).

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23 Kashikar has it as 'son of Kubera'.

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Why the *mantra* is addressed to the brother? Why is it not offered directly to Vaiśravaṇa? Is Vaiśravaṇa a brother of Kubera, as is shown by Sāyaṇa? Or is he the son of Kubera, as is explained by Bhaṭṭabhāskara? These are some intricate but pertinent questions.

The problem is made more complex by the final *upasthāna mantra*. While explaining the sentences कुबेर वैश्रवणाय । महाराजाय नमः ।, of the *upasthāna mantra*, Sāyaṇa identifies Kubera with Vaiśravaṇa[24]. The same Sāyaṇa, while interpreting the first *mantra*[25] of the passage says that Vaiśravaṇa has been caught hold of (हे कुबेर त्वया गृहीतो यो वैश्रवणो ...) by Kubera. He does not care to supply the reason for this act of Kubera or to specify the relation (otherwise) between them.

Identity of Vaiśravaṇa

These questions are centred on the identity of Vaiśravaṇa. Who is this Vaiśravaṇa, propitiated in this rite? What is his relation with Kubera? Are they identical? This is a complicated issue. We get only scanty references to Kubera/ Vaiśravaṇa in the Vedic literature. But in the *Vedāṅga* literature, especially in the *Gṛhyasūtra*-s and the *Dharmasūtra*-s, these names appear more frequently. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, there are plenty of references. There are even tales about their parentage, and characteristics. When we come to Purāṇa-s, especially later ones, they are treated as identical. According to the Puranic tradition, common characteristics attributed to Kubera/ Vaiśravaṇa are:

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24 कुबेररूपाय महाराजाय वैश्रवणाय नमोऽस्तु ।

25 The *mantra* runs as

अद्भ्यस्तिरोधाजायत । तव वैश्रवणः सदा ॥
तिरोधेहि सपत्नान्नः । ये अपोऽश्नन्ति केचन ॥

We can see that it is addressed to somebody, as is given by the words *'tava'* and *'tirodhehi'*. To whom it is addressed? We are left to find out. Moreover it is difficult to construe the passage. Sāyaṇa interprets it to mean 'Oh Kubera! Vaiśravaṇa (whom you have caught hold of) has been wiping off all your deeds (ritualistic *karman*-s). You please rid him of this nature and you may further extinguish all our enemies who nullify all our deeds .

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1) The guardianship of Northern direction *(uttarāśādhipatya)*,
2) The protector-hood of the worlds *(lokapālatva)*,
3) The paramount kingship *(rājarājatva / mahārājatva)*,
4) The leadership of *Bhūta*-s *(bhūteśatva)*,
5) The leadership of *Yakṣa*-s and *Guhyaka*-s, and
6) The lordship of wealth/treasures *(dhanādhipatya/nidhipatitva)*.

Accordingly epithets like *dhanada, rājarāja* and *guhyakeśvara* are freely employed to denote them. The passage enlisting the synonyms of Kubera given in the ***Amarakośa*** is a fine collection of such epithets. It runs as:

कुबेरस्त्र्यम्बकसखो यक्षराड्गुह्यकेश्वरः ।
मनुष्यधर्मा धनदो राजराजो धनाधिपः ।
किन्नरेशो वैश्रवणः पौलस्त्यो नरवाहनः ।
यक्षैकपिङ्गैडबिडश्रीदपुण्यजनेश्वराः ।
अस्योद्यानं चैत्ररथं पुत्रस्तु नलकूबरः ।
कैलासः स्थानमलका पूर्विमानन्तु पुष्पकम् ॥ (*Svargavarga* 81-83)

As we can see, this passage not only contains some epithets reminding one of the tales related to Kubera/Vaiśravaṇa, like that of getting deformity in one eye (its colour becoming copperish gold - *ekapiṅga)*, but also supplies other personal details like the names of his abode, vehicle, city, garden, son etc. The term *'manuṣyadharman'* deserves special attention indicating either the human origin or the human traits (of Vaiśravaṇa), carrying much significance from the mythological point of view.

Kubera and Vaiśravaṇa in the Atharva Veda

There is a *mantra* in the *Atharvaveda* where Kubera and Vaiśravaṇa appear. It runs as

'सोदक्रामत्सेतरजनानागच्छत् तामितरजना उपाह्वयन्त तिरोध एहीति ।
तस्याः कुबेरो वैश्रवणो वत्स आसीदामपात्रं पात्रम् ॥

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तां रजतनाभिः कौबेरकोऽधोक् तां तिरोधामेवाधोक् ।
तां तिरोधामितरजना उपजीवन्ति तिरो धत्ते सर्वं पाप्मानम् उपजीवनीयो भवति य एवं वेद ॥[26]

This *mantra* appears in a *Paryāyasūkta* in which *Virāj* is extolled. Ralph T H Griffith calls this hymn as 'A glorification of mystical abstraction of *Virāj*. In this hymn, different beings in this universe are being depicted as milking their characteristic features from the *Virāj* (metaphorically/symbolically represented as a cow). Just as Pṛthu the first-ever king is described as milking all the hidden resources from the mother Earth (who took the form of a cow and concealed all her resources) in the Purāṇa-s, so is here the prominent figures in different beings like *deva*-s, *manuṣya*-s, *pitṛ*-s, *gandharva*-s and *sarpa*-s are said to milk their characteristic feature from *Virāj*. Each group milks its desired object keeping one member in the group as the calf. The milked object mostly is the unique characteristic of the group. Here, in this *mantra*, Rajatanābhi, the Kauberaka is depicted as milking '*tirodhā*', for the *itarajana*-s having Kubera Vaiśravaṇa[27] as the calf. We know that the terms *'itarajana'*[28] and *'puṇyajana'*[29] are euphemistically used for *Yakṣa*-s or *Guhyaka*-s. Thus the *Guhyaka*-s have the power of concealment as their characteristic feature. This power is called as *'Tirodhā'*. William Dwight Whitney has interpreted the phrase *kubero vaiśravaṇaḥ* to mean that Kubera is the son of Viśravaṇa. So also the phrase *'rajatanābhiḥ kāberakaḥ'*, to mean that Rajatanābhi is the son of Kubera. Let us recall that the *Āraṇyaka* passage calls Kubera as *Hiraṇyanābhi*.

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26 This is numbered as 8.10.28 by Whitney and Griffith. Sripada Damodar Satvalekar has it as 8.10.5.9-12. (*Svargavarga* 81-83)

27 Griffith has this note on Kubera Vaiśravaṇa: 'Vaiśravaṇa Kubera; in later Sanskrit, Kuvera, son of Viśravas, chief of the spirits of darkness and afterwards the God of riches and treasure. Griffith :1916, p. 426.

28 Griffith translates the word as 'Other People'. He adds in his note: 'Other people: a euphemistic expression for certain beings who appear to be considered as spirits of darkness. So in England fairies are called folk, people, neighbours; in Germany, little folk; and in Switzerland, hill people and Earth people...', Griffith :1916, Vol. I, p. 426.

29 The *Paippalāda* recension has the reading *'puṇyajana'* for *'itarajana'*. See Whitney : 1905. Vol. II, p. 515.

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According to Manfred Mayrhofer and L. V. Schroeder this passage probably indicates that Kubera was a spirit believed by the indigenous non-Āryan folk tradition to reside in the hollows and clefts of the Earth[30].

This mythical depiction of the *Atharvaveda* and the rite of *Vaiśravaṇabali* described in the *Āraṇyaka* passage seem to have a common origin. These representations could be a phase in the development of the myth of Kubera/ Vaiśravaṇa which got full blooming in the later Purāṇa-s. Vaiśravaṇa, hitherto an independent spirit, was gradually getting the status of a close associate or servant of Kubera and finally got identified with him. Kubera, on the other hand, got transformed into the leader of *Guhyaka*-s in this phase, who had been, till then, the leader of dark spirits. *Guhyaka*-s, not clearly demarcated from the *rakṣases* and the *yakṣa*-s, were believed to possess the power of concealing.

This power of concealing is glorified as a spirit *'Tiro dhā'* in the *Atharva Veda* and the *Āraṇyaka* passages. In the *agnyādhāna* and *agnisamindhana* rites of the *Vaiśravaṇayajña*, it may be this power of concealing, which is expressed by the magical formulae *'tiro dhā bhūḥ'* etc.

In the *Kalpa* literature

We have seen that Kubera is depicted as the king of *rakṣasas*, who send *bhūta*-s in search of *Bali*, in some of the *mantra*-s prescribed by the *Gṛhyasūtra*-s. And that Vaiśravaṇa is included in the list of *balibhūta*-s by some *Gṛhyasūtra*-s. In many of the Vedic and Tantric rituals, Soma is treated as the lord of Northern direction. But later on Kubera takes over this status from Soma. There are many references in the classical literature, where Kubera is depicted as the lord of Northern direction.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*

Usually in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the terms Kubera and Vaiśravaṇa are used as synonyms. But in the *Rāmāyaṇa* we get a reference where these two personages, Kubera and Vaiśravaṇa, are treated as different.

30 See Kubera in Sanskrit Literature, V. M. Bedekar in Umesh Mishra Commemoration Volume, p. 426

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Thus while describing the bewildering riches in the harems of Rāvaṇa as seen by Hanūmat, Vālmīki writes:

या हि वैश्रवणे लक्ष्मीर्या चेन्द्रे हरिवाहने ।
सा रावणगृहे रम्या नित्यमेवानपायिनी ॥
या च राज्ञः कुबेरस्य यमस्य वरुणस्य च ।
तादृशी तद्विशिष्टा वा ऋद्धी रक्षोगृहेष्विह ॥ (*Sundarakāṇḍa* - 9.8, 9)

Here the word '*ca*' in the second verse clearly shows that Vaiśravaṇa described in the first verse is different from Kubera (mentioned in the second verse). Both are cited as owners of proverbial riches[31]. But it can be seen that Kubera is ranked with Varuṇa and Yama. This may be because they are all the guardians of Directions (*dikpālaka*-s). It may be noted that mostly Kubera, not Vaiśravaṇa, is listed among the guardians of Directions in the later literature. This ranking of Kubera with Varuṇa takes us to another verse of Vālmīki, where the residences of these two persons are described as strong asylums.

In the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, Sītā tells Rāvaṇa that he cannot escape from the wrath of Rāma even if he takes refuge in the mountains of Kubera or in the *Sabhā* of Varuṇa. She says:

'गिरिं कुबेरस्य गतोऽथवालयं सभां गतो वा वरुणस्य राज्ञः ।
असंशयं दाशरथेर्न मोक्ष्यसे[32] महाद्रुमः कालहतोऽशनेरिव ॥' (*Sundarakāṇḍa* - 21.34)

Can this be taken as an indication of Kubera being a mountain-dweller? We have seen that in our *Āraṇyaka* passage also he is said to possess a city in the mountains Sudarśana, Krauñca and Mainãga. Some scholars have pointed out similarity between Kubera and Skanda (a *Purāṇic* god). In the *Purāṇa*-s, Kubera is called '*Guhyakeśvara*' (lord of *Guhyaka*-s). And Skanda is called *Guha*. The word '*guha*' is taken to mean 'one who is concealed or 'one who has got the power of concealing'[33].

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31 There are other instances also where Vālmīki refers to the proverbial riches of Vaiśravaṇa. See for instance this verse: यानि वैश्रवणे सुष्ठु रत्नानि च धनानि च । तानि लोकांश्च सुश्रोणि मया भुङ्क्ष्व यथासुखम् ॥ - (*Sundarakāṇḍa* - 20.33)

32 In the Nirnayasagar edition, the 3rd *pāda* has the reading असंशयं दाशरथेर्विमोक्ष्यसे. The reading given here is a popular one.

33 See *Epic Mythology*, E. Washburn Hopkins, p.142

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In the *Vanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* the sage Mārkaṇḍeya is described as narrating the story of *Rāmāyaṇa* to Yudhiṣṭhira. There Mārkaṇḍeya narrates how Vaiśravaṇa attained the godhood, the lordship of wealth, the guardianship of the world, the leadership of *Yakṣa*-s, the status of Rājarāja and the aerial car *Puṣpaka* (275th chapter)[34]. Here the text uses the word Kubera as a synonym of Vaiśravaṇa. In this story, Kubera is depicted as the paternal uncle of Rāvaṇa and his brothers, in contrast to the version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇa*-s where Kubera/ Vaiśravaṇa is described as their half-brother.

The gist of the *Mahābhārata* story of Vaiśravaṇa is this:

'Sage Pulastya was the son (*mānasaputra*) of God Brahman. He begot a son called Vaiśravaṇa by a cow (*gavi putro'bhavat*[35]). Vaiśravaṇa deserted his father Pulastya, and resided with the grandfather Brahman and pleased him. Pulastya got angry by this action of Vaiśravaṇa. From his anger a *Brāhmin* took birth[36]. He is Viśravas. Brahman on the other hand, pleased with Vaiśravaṇa gave him the godhood, the lordship of wealth, the guardianship of the world, the leadership of *Yakṣa*-s, the status of Rājarāja and the aerial car *Puṣpaka*[37]. In order to appease his angered father, Vaiśravaṇa gave three *rākṣasī* servants to him. Viśravas begot Rāvaṇa and Kumbhakarṇa by the *rākṣasī* named Puṣpotkaṭā and Vibhīṣaṇa by Mālinī.

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34 In the *Rāmāyaṇa* also we get a similar episode narrated by sage Agastya to Rāma (3rd canto of the *Uttarakāṇḍa*). There, Vaiśravaṇa is offered boons by Brahman. Vaiśravaṇa asks for two things only viz. the guardianship of the world and the lordship of wealth. In addition to these it is Brahman who gives him the *Puṣpaka*, the city of Lankā as residence and the status of Rājarāja.

35 It may also be taken as 'begot a son by a lady named *Gauḥ*'.

36 The text runs as 'पुलस्त्यस्य तु यः क्रोधादर्धदेहोऽभवन्मुनिः । विश्रवा नाम सक्रोधः स विश्रवणमैक्षत॥'. Thus Viśravas may be taken as none other than Pulastya, rather than his son.

37 पितामहस्तु प्रीतात्मा ददौ वैश्रवणस्य ह ।
अमरत्वं धनेशत्वं लोकपालत्वमेव च ॥
ईशानेन तथा सख्यं पुत्रं च नलकूबरम् ।
राजधानिविशेषञ्च लङ्का रक्षोगणान्विताम् ।
विमानं पुष्पकं नाम कामगं च ददौ प्रभुः ।
यक्षाणामाधिपत्यं चराजराजत्वमेव च ॥ (*Mahābhārata* 3.275.15-17)

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In the same *Rāmāyaṇa* story of the *Mahābhārata*, we get an interesting episode[38] related to Kubera. In the battle with Indrajit, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa fell unconscious. Indrajit was fighting fiercely. He had the added advantage of the powers to become invisible and was playing havoc. When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa regained their normal self, a *guhyaka* came to them and handed over a special kind of water. He was sent by Kubera. 'If you apply this water to your eyes, you can see even the concealed beings. This has been given to you by *Mahārāja* Kuber a, saying thus, he handed it over to Rāma. Subsequently, Lakṣmaṇa could kill Indrajit.

This power of making concealed things visible may be taken as an extension of the power of concealment believed to be possessed by *Guhyaka*-s, which is described in the *Atharva Veda*.

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38 The *Mahābhārata* contains many tales about Kubera depicting his paramount kingship (*rājarājatva*) and the leadership of *guhyaka*-s. But it would be very much interesting to note that in one instance Vaiśravaṇa and his wife Bhadrā are cited as ideal couple. When Kunti blesses the newly-wed bride, that is Draupadī, she cites seven ideal wives, and tells "be such an ideal and lovable wife to your husbands

यथेन्द्राणी हरिहये स्वाहा चैव विभावसौ ।
रोहिणी च यथा सोमे दमयन्ती यथा नले ॥
यथा वैश्रवणे भद्रा वसिष्ठे चाप्यरुन्धती ।
यथा नारायणे लक्ष्मीस्तथा त्वं भव भर्तृषु ॥ (*Mahābhārata* 1.216.5,6)

It would be further interesting to compare this passage with a similar passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, citing ideal and loyal wives. Pressed by *rākṣasī*-s to be the wife of Rāvaṇa, Sītā outrightly rejects the suggestion and adds:

यथा शची महाभागा शक्रं समनुतिष्ठति ।
अरुन्धती वसिष्ठं च रोहिणी शशिनं यथा ।
लोपामुद्रा यथागस्त्यं सुकन्या च्यवनं यथा ।
सावित्री सत्यवन्तं च कपिलं श्रीमती यथा ॥
सौदासं मदयन्तीव केशिनी सगरं यथा ।
नैषधं दमयन्तीव भैमी पतिमनुव्रता ॥
तथाहमिक्ष्वाकुवरं रामं पतिमनुव्रता ॥ (*Sundarakāṇḍa* - 24.10-12)

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Gradual Growth of Kubera: From an Evil Spirit to the Status of God

V. M. Bedekar, in his paper titled *Kubera in Sanskrit Literature,* makes a study of the development of the myth of Kubera in Sanskrit literature with a special focus on the *Mahābhārata.* Having given due consideration for the views of scholars like L. V. Schroeder, Manfred Mayrhofer and E. W. Hopkins he makes the following observations :

1. Kubera has a non-Vedic and non-Aryan origin. Originally he appears to be a spirit or a goblin, lying concealed in the hollows and clefts of the Earth. Hiding, concealment, mysterious appearance and disappearance were his characteristics.

2. During the course of Vedic Indians' march, many religious beliefs and customs of indigenous folk infiltrated into their (the former's) complex pattern of religious thoughts. Kubera thus entered into their religious thoughts as the chief of evil spirits to be appeased and pacified by suitable offerings.

3. Gradually he became the chief of comparatively benevolent spirits like *Guhyaka*-s, *Yakṣa*-s, *Kinnara*-s and *Apsarases.* Finally he rose to be a god, though secondary occupying the outskirts of Hindu pantheon.

4. In the process of this transformation, his traits also got transformed. Thus his power of hiding and concealment became a weapon having power to conceal and reveal objects and persons. His love for dwelling in the clefts and crevices, his fondness to reside in the mountain peaks. His intimate knowledge of hiding places in the layers of the earth got transfused into his uncanny knowledge of buried treasures. And he was raised to the status of the lord of riches and treasures.

These observations would help us in explaining some of the features of Kubera/Vaiśravaṇa depicted in the *Āraṇyaka* passage. So also some of the problems discussed above. The characteristics of Vaiśravaṇa depicted in our

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Āraṇyaka passage are the following:

1. Expectancy of Bali (यस्मै भूतानि बलिमावहन्ति)
2. Lordship of *bhūta*-s (सर्वभूताधिपतये नमः)
3. *Hiraṇyanābhitva*
4. Destructive nature (*vitudi, vighātuka, mā mā himsīḥ, sa me'rthān mā vivadhīt, prasahya sāhine*)
5. Supreme kingship (*rājādhirāja, mahārāja*)
6. Concealing nature (*tirodhā*)
7. Owning a city in hilly area/mountain.

Some of the incongruities that we find in the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara are caused by the ignorance of this gradual development of the myth of Kubera.

Some problems still persist

There are some riddles still remaining unsolved. What is the relation between Kubera and Vaiśravaṇa? What is the original nature of Vaiśravaṇa? When did these two mythical characters got merged into one? And what caused this merger?

The most difficult riddle in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* passage is the 'destructive brother' (*vighātuko bhrātā*). If it is Vaiśravaṇa who is meant by the phrase, then to whom is the *mantra* addressed? If it is to Kubera, as Sāyaṇa has it, how is their brotherhood to be explained? These questions remain to be answered satisfactorily.

Concluding Remarks

From the foregoing brief study we arrive at the following observations. Some portions of the text containing the procedural details of the *Vaiśravaṇayajña* in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* pose some textual problems. We find it difficult to construe their purport. The commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭabhāskara make the problem complex. Their ignorance of the mythological tract of the development of Kubera from an evil spirit of the indigenous folk origin to the

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status of a God passing through different phases pays a major role in this. The unknown relationship between Kubera and Vaiśravaṇa is another aspect which causes confusion.

Kubera was depicted as the king of *rakṣasas* and *bhūta*-s in the early Vedic literature. Originally he was a spirit believed by the indigenous non-Aryan folk tradition to reside in the hollows and clefts of the Earth. His characteristic feature was the power of concealing and revealing. He was to be appeased and pacified by offerings not to afflict people. Gradually he got raised to a demigod and to status of king of *rakṣasas*. And finally he was given the statuses of the regent of Northern direction, the king of kings, a close associate of Śiva, and the Lordship of treasures and riches. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* contain references and indications showing these developments of this myth. The *Atharvaveda* and the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* passage contain mythical depiction of Kubera's power of concealing.

Vaiśravaṇa who appears along with Kubera in most of the references in the Vedic and Epic literature seems to have an independent origin. He is enlisted among the *bhūta*-s to whom *Bali* is offered in the *baliharaṇa* rite by some Gṛhyasūtra-s. But Kubera is not. The guardianship of the Northern direction on the other hand is always ascribed to Kubera and not to Vaiśravaṇa. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also has a subtle indication to their being different. However in the later Purāṇic literature, these two personages are seen to be identified.

The most difficult riddle in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* passage is the 'destructive brother' (*vighātuko bhrātā*) described in the final *baliharaṇamantra*. And the statement of Bhaṭṭabhāskara 'सूत्रकारेण त्वन्यथा प्रयोग उक्तः । स इह ब्राह्मणविरोधाच्चिन्त्य इति नोक्तः' needs to be looked into.

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ART OF INDIAN PAINTING CONCEPTUALIZED IN *CITRASŪTRA* OF *VIṢṆUDHARMOTTARA*

Ratan Parimoo*

I

The third *Khaṇḍa* of the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* contains quite an exhaustive treatment of various Fine Arts practised in India during the first few centuries of the Common Era. It is generally regarded as a 5th century text with emphasis on the interrelationship and interdependence of the arts. The arts are dealt with in the following sequence: i) Literature, ii) Vocal Music, iii) Instrumental Music, iv) *Nṛttasūtra* (Dance), v) *Citrasūtra* (Painting), vi) *Pratimālakṣaṇa* (Sculpture) and culminating with vii) Temple Architecture. According to C. Sivaramamurti, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa Khaṇḍa* III, of which *Citrasūtra* is one of the chapters, should be considered a Source Book of Indian Art.[1] The *Citrasūtra* was first translated by Stella Kramrisch in 1924 and thus brought it to the attention of the world of scholarship in the aesthetics of Indian Art.[2] During 1950s Priyabala Shah translated the entire *Khaṇḍa* III of *Viṣṇudharmottara*, published under the Gaekwad's Oriental Series of the Oriental Institute of Baroda in 1958, 1961.[3] Sivaramamurti expanded the scope

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1 Sivaramamurti C., *Citrasūtra of the Viṣṇudharmottara*, Kanak Publications, New Delhi, 1978. p. 16

2 Kramrisch Stella, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, edited and English translation, (text of Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1912), Calcutta,1924.

3 Shah Priyabala, *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, edited text and English translation, Gaekwad's Oriental Series,130,137, 1958, 1961, 2 vols, Baroda.

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of *Citrasūtra* in a series of Tagore Memorial lectures at Faculty of Fine Arts, Baroda in 1977 and published in following year.[4]

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa Khaṇḍa III opens with the famous much quoted dialogue between Mārkaṇḍeya and King Vajra. The King puts the question: 'what would obtain for him great happiness in this and the other world'. Mārkaṇḍeya answered unhesitatingly, 'by worshipping gods and by building a temple for gods;. Vajra's next question provokes a crucial dialogue propounding the view that in order to obtain the knowledge of sculpture, it is necessary to have the knowledge of the arts upon which it is dependent. Thus, introducing the tradition regarding interdependence of the arts. For making the forms of gods, that is, image making (*Pratimā-Lakṣaṇa*) one must know the canon of painting (*Citrasūtra*). The canon of painting can be grasped by knowledge of canon of dance (*Nṛttasūtra*), because in both the arts this world is to be imitated. Dance is difficult to understand without instrumental music (*Ātodya*), however without vocal music it is not possible to know instrumental music. Vocal music involves recitation in prose and verse and meters. This leads to the literary arts and the languages of Sanskrit, Prakrit and *Apabhraṁśa*. It is of much interest to note that inspired by this concept of interrelationship of the Arts, Kapila Vatsyayan during the 1960s, carried out her pioneering research correlating medieval dance texts with the dance sculptures on *Nāgara* temple architecture, as if the dance sculptures were like a documentary of dance practice during medieval India.[5] She followed it up with the *magnum opus* project of the impact of the 12th century literary text of *Gīta Govinda* on the arts of music, dance and painting throughout India.[6]

Citrasūtra is a very perceptive, thoughtful, analytical deliberation on aesthetic qualities of the art of painting. Comprising of nine *adhyāyas*, the text covers separate aspects of technique and human proportions in independent chapters. First four chapters (35, 36, 37, 38) are overlapping, which are devoted to human proportions, relative measurements of limbs and the ideal human types including variations in both male and female forms. How human

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4 Sivaramamurti C., (1978), *op.cit.* p.XVI

5 Vatsyayan Kapila, *Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts*, Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 1968.

6 Vatsyayan Kapila, *Gita Govinda*, The Process of Diffusion, MARG, Vol. 34, No. 3, Bombay, 1982.

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beings of higher status including gods (in human forms) should be delineated with certain preferred proportions are also explained.

Then are clarified the aspects of components which constitute the painting as an art object. Subsequently, the aspects of those qualities which are from the realm of skills and human creativity, e.g. *Sādṛśya*, *Kṣaya-vṛddhi* and *Raṅga Vartanā*. A full chapter (40) deals with techniques, tools, materials for pigments (*dṛvya*) and the entire process of mural painting on the wall surface. The independent chapter (39) on *Kṣaya-vṛddhi* clearly implies concepts of perception (*pratyakṣa*) specific angle of vision, perspective and three-dimensionality of human figures.[7] This is where the concept of *Sādṛśya* is contextualized. Chapter 39 dealing with *Kṣaya-vṛddhi* is a complicated chapter of great insight and of vital importance for a whole lot of Indian sculpture and painting. *Kṣaya-vṛddhi* has been translated as foreshortening and also diminution-augmentation. The concept proposes that a human figure is observed by the onlooker from different angles depending on the onlooker's position of the 'model' (the figure that is viewed). The positions range from the full front view *Ṛjvāgata*, the front position facing the spectator (*abhimukha*) and the absolutely side view *Pārśvāgata*, that shows only one eye, one line of the brow, nose and forehead, one ear, half the chin etc. In between are three more views, *Anṛju*, *Sācikṛtaśarīra*, *Ardhavilocana*. In each view of the human figure some parts of the body and limbs are relatively diminished or undiminished. In all nine views have been described, four on either side of the frontal view, *Ṛjvāgata*. (A 360 degrees' rotation of the human model can give as many as 13 views). Such phenomenon is extremely conspicuous in Ajanta mural paintings and sculptural reliefs. (Plates 1, 2)

Most valuable is the chapter 41, which identifies the basic elements of

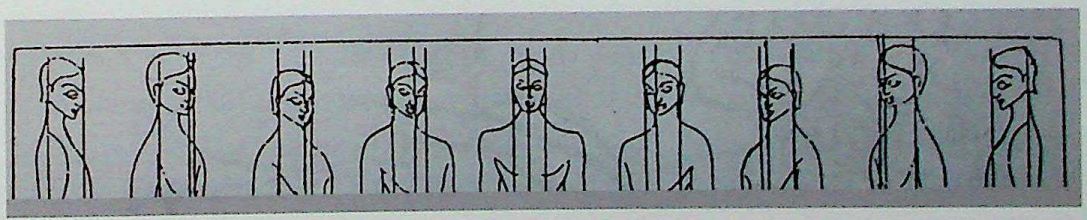

Plate 1 *Kṣayavṛddhi* conjectured postures on the basis of *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*

7 Sivaramamurti C. (1978), *Ibid*, p.122

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Plate 2. Example of *Vainika* style of figure type. *Campeya Jātaka* (2)

painting and norms of excellence. The nature of art of painting is further elaborated in a long chapter (42), titled *Rūpa Nirūpaṇa*, which explains the contents of painting, what one can delineate and represent, though primacy is given to human beings, that is, figurative painting. Guidelines for the depiction of the nine *rasas* in painting are given in the last chapter (43). It has to be noted that *Citrasūtra* is written in *Sūtra* style without much elucidation while no subsequent commentaries have been discovered. For Sivaramamurti, *Citrasūtra* can be compared with such a sophisticated study of literary criticism, which establish standards of art, like *Alaṅkāra Śāstra*.[8]

In a way chapter 41 contains the essence of *Citrasūtra* and hence I shall focus on the concepts and terminologies laid out in the verses in this chapter. It is titled *Raṅga Vartanā*, which may be translated as colour application and modeling and not just colour shading. It is distinct from chapter 40 devoted to technique of materials. Here, I may mention that previous scholars have not commented on the matter of the scribes having jumbled up the sequences of the verses. We begin with first verse which prescribes four types of constructions or modes of *citra* (painting), viz., *Satya*, *Vaiṇika*, *Nāgara*, and *Miśra*.

8 Sivaramamurti C. (1978), *ibid.* p. 105

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The Features (*Lakṣaṇa*) of *Satya*:

Satya type (mode) is that which faithfully portrays (*loka-sādṛśya*) any object of the world that it intends to represent. In the delineation of human figures, the limbs are somewhat elongated otherwise appropriate proportions are maintained (alternatively: all proportions are systematically elongated). However, the quality of being smooth or delicate (*Sukumāra*) should also be incorporated. All these are placed in the right background (*Subhūmikam*) or firmly resting on the ground. *Satya* concept applies to all the elements in the entire composition. Apparently the verse indicates the style of drawing the human figures. (Plate 3) *Sādṛśya* is elucidated by Sivaramamurti quoting Someśvara who has included it in *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* (a medieval text): *Sādṛśyam dṛśyate yat tu darpaṇe pratibimbavat* = like the reflection in a mirror.[9]

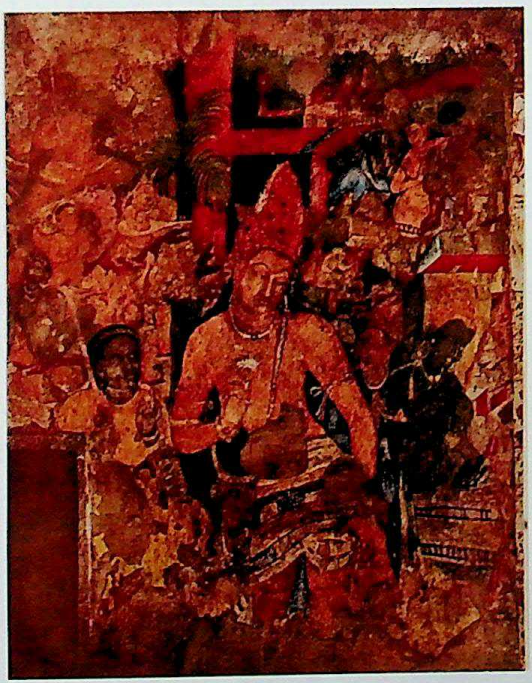

Plate 3. Example of Vainika style of figure type. *Champeya Jataka* (3)

This phrase is incorporated in a later *Śilpa* text, *Śilparatna*. The dictionary meaning of *Satya* perhaps would also help: truthful, real, genuine, virtuous. *Satya* may perhaps be considered as the definition of the finest of the stylistic varieties.

Stella Kramrisch, who was the first to translate this important text, has initiated the notion that, *Satya* be considered as 'realistic' in the current parlance of Fine Arts.[10] Soon after, Ananda Coomaraswamy also translated some chapters of *Citrasūtra*.[11] According to him *Satya* should be taken as pure or sacred and even as *sāttvika*. This contention is ruled out by the great Sanskritist V.

9 Sivaramamurti C. (1978), *ibid.* p.118

10 Kramrisch Stella, (1924), *op.cit.* p.51

11 Coomaraswamy Ananda. K., "Vishnudharmottara (III) Chapter XLI", *Journal of American Oriental Society*, 52, 1932, p.13

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Raghavan.[12] We shall notice later how there is a conceptual conflict between this notion and Coomaraswamy's personal philosophy of Indian Art. According to Sivaramamurti, the four varieties can be understood with reference to the handling or treatment of the human figures, which is quite convincing.

The meaning of the next three varieties or modes are ambiguous, viz., *Vaiṇika, Nāgara and Miśra.* Stella Kramrisch has defined *Vaiṇika* as rich in posture, maintaining strict proportions, placed in a square field, not elongated yet well-finished.[13] Coomaraswamy considered it to refer to a lyrical quality. Sivaramamurti suggests that the term may refer to the musical instrument *Vīṇā*, in order that it may indicate 'lyrical' quality as in the pleasing melody of *Vīṇā*. He further emphasizes that there is no exaggeration of form, true proportions are maintained. (Plate 4) Apparently the *Vaiṇika* implies the 'standard' or the basic norm while, *Satya* is a slight deviation towards greater beauty.

Nāgara is interpreted by S. Kramrisch as 'of the city' the style is characterized by rounded, firm and well-developed limbs, however, with scanty garlands and ornaments. This has not been found convincing by V. Raghavan. Sivaramamurti quite rightly explains further that *Nāgara* is a sophisticated and restrained style of execution of paintings without much jewelry and garlands. According to Coomaraswamy *Nāgara* type of painting is

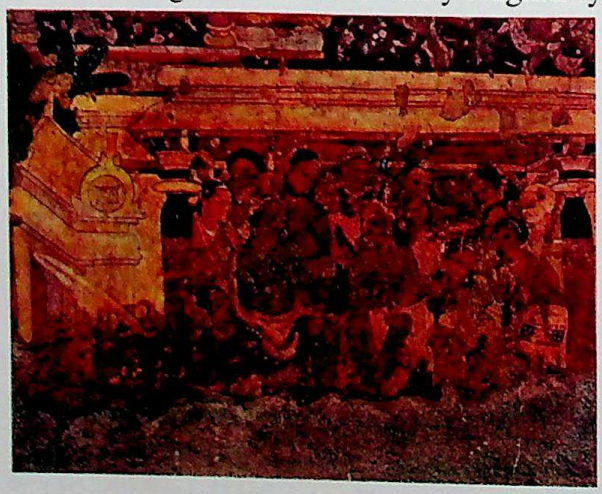

Plate 4. Example of *Vainika* style of figure type. *Champeya Jataka* (1)

12 Raghavan V., "Some Sanskrit Texts on Painting", *Historical Quarterly* 3, Calcutta, 1933, p.905.

13 Kramrisch Stella, (1924), *op.cit.* p.51

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urban and secular as opposed to *Satya*.[14] It is the painting style of the amateurs, with reference to the term *Nāgaraka* in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*.

Next we take up the explanation of and the place of *Vartanā* in the art of painting. Verse 5 in 41st chapter mentions *Vartanā* which has been translated by Stella Kramrisch as 'light and shade'. (Plate 3) There are three ways of depicting it: *patraka, raikhika and bindujā*. Coomaraswamy has translated this term '*Vartanā*' to refer to simply 'shading'. Another scholar who edited and translated the entire *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa Khaṇḍa* III, has observed that these two stalwarts have not explained why the meaning of *Vartanā* should be taken as 'light and shade'.

Here, it must be noted again that the title of this chapter i.e., 41, is given as *Raṅga Vartanā*. Thus, the meaning of *Vartanā* should be the colour application with the tool such as a brush. The brush is made from the feather of a bird. This is the explanation of Priyabala Shah, who then demonstrates the interpretations of the three methods of *Vartanā*,[15]

i. The first method crossing lines in the form of leaves, *patraja*. Sivaramamurti specifically compares it with cross-hatching.

ii. Second method: Priyabala Shah changes the spellings as *airika* - that which is very *sūkṣma*, that is subtle.

iii. Third method: the *Vartanā* which is done with an upright brush (*stambhanā yukta* brush), is *bindu Vartanā*, dot-shading. Sivaramamurti, adds that it is shading by stippling. It is quite clear that all these scholars are thinking in terms of rendering or modeling of three-dimensionality of an individual figure.

Chapter 41, leaves no doubt that *Vartanā* was an indispensable element from an early date and it was a phenomenon intrinsic to the manipulation of colour values. Chapter 42 asserts 'A painting which has *Vartanā* throughout is said to be good, one without any *Vartanā* middling, and one with *Vartanā* in one part and not in another, bad.'

Vartanā and _Nimnonnata_ in Medieval Period:

It is significant that the concept of *Vartanā* and *Nimnonnata* continued to be the characteristic features of the art of Indian painting in the medieval period

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14 Coomaraswamy Ananda. K., "Nāgara painting", *Rupam*, No.37,1929, Calcutta.

15 Shah Priyabala, (1958), *op.cit.* p.127

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Śilpa texts. While *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* included *Vartanā* (colour application) as sixth among the eight stages, in the *Mānasollāsa* and *Śilparatna* texts, this term is absent. However the discussion on the notion of creating receding and protruding areas of an object in painting is continued in both these texts.[16] *Citrasūtra* had already asserted that "He is expert in painting (*citravit*) who can make distinction of the parts that are low and those that are raised." (*Nimnonnatavibhāgam ca yaḥ karoti*, 43.29). In *Mānasollāsa*, it is explicitly clarified that while 'filling in' colour, bright colour should be applied in high places (*ujjvalam pronnatasthāne*) and in low places dark colour should be applied (*śyāmalatām nimnadeśataḥ*).[17]

Ananda Coomaraswamy has compared the effects of *Nimnonnata* with *relievo* in European painting. He has further compiled the following references in support of the notion of *Nimnonnata*[18]:

- In *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, comm. II. 5, a painter 'raises up' (*samutthāpet*) a shape (*rūpam*) on wall surface by means of his brushes and colours.
- The following comment is made in *Mahāyāna Sūtrālāṁkāra* of Āsaṅga XIII-17, *citre-natonnatam nāsti ca, dṛśyate atha ca*, "there is no actual relief in a painting, and yet we see it there."
- In *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (Nanjio's ed. p.91), a painted surface (*citrakṛta-pradésa*) is said to be seen in relief (*Nimnonnata*) though actually flat (*animnonnata*).
- The metaphor is introduced of the eyes stumbling (*skhalati*) over the elevations and depressions (*Nimnonnata*) represented in a picture. These hills and vales may belong to the landscape space or to the luxuriant forms of women (*Śākuntala*, VI-13-14).

The few scholars who have commented on the *Śilpa* texts which have references concerning the constituent elements of Indian painting, have missed the intrinsic connection regarding interdependence or conceptual consistency among the notions of *Sādṛśya*, *Vartanā* and *Nimnonnata*, even for that matter with the phenomenon of *Kṣaya-vṛddhi*. *Nimnonnata* are the features of most objects when they are rendered pictorially and should have the visual effect or

16 Bhattacharya Asok. K., *Technique of Indian Painting*, A Study of Chiefly made on the basis of the Śilpa Texts, Culcutta, 1976, p.104

17 Coomaraswamy Ananda.K., (1934), *op.cit.*

18 *Ibid*

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illusion of three-dimensionality for the on-looker. What is remarkable is that through the centuries these notions were part of the traditional painters' knowledge and acquired skills.

II

It is possible that the scribe could have mixed up the sequence of the verses therefore I think it is more logical to take up here after verse no 10, before verse 9,

रेखा च वर्तना चैव भूषणं वर्णमेव च ।
विज्ञेया मनुजश्रेष्ठ चित्रकर्मसु भूषणम् ॥ 41.10

Activity of adorning a painting is carried out with lines or outlines. Next element is light and shade/i.e. modelling, or *Vartanā* which is already explained. The third element is *Bhūṣaṇam*, which implies decorative details, the fourth is the colours. At the end of the second line the word *Bhūṣaṇam* is again used as part of *citrakarma*, i.e. preparing a painting. While literally *Bhūṣaṇa* may be interpreted as adornments but here *Bhūṣaṇa* can also mean one of the basic elements and the *Bhūṣaṇa* as third element to mean filling up of details which also include ornaments etc. worn by the concerned human figures, alongside complete finishing (Plate 5). For Priyabala Shah, the second time use of *Bhūṣaṇa* implies that painting itself is an act of creating beauty.

The immediate next verse (no. 11) confirms that these four factors are like basic elements and they possess their inherent relative aesthetic values.

रेखां प्रशंसन्त्याचार्या वर्तनां च विचक्षणाः ।
स्त्रियो भूषणमिच्छन्ति वर्णाढ्यमितरे जनाः ॥ 41.11

Masters or experts praise the excellence in line work. We shall observe further that it implies outline drawing. I agree with Priyabala Shah's interpretation who thinks that *rekhā* may be considered as the harmony of lines in a human figure. She quotes the analogy of the

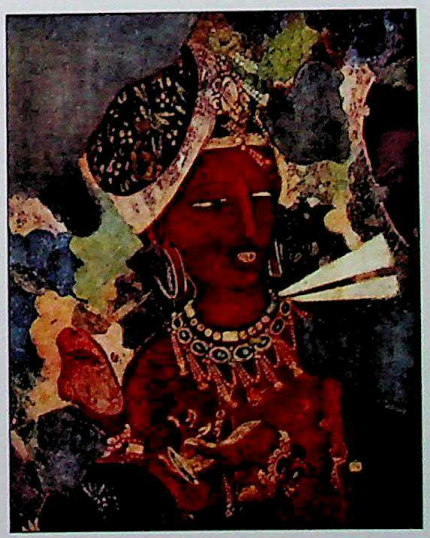

Plate 5. Example of *Bhulambho*. Stability and the ground supporting the figures (2)

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dancers from the text of *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, the graceful *rekhā* of the dancer's body as a result of *bhramarī* posture.[19] (Plate 6) The next element, that is *Vartanā* - is preferred by the connoisseurs. For Priyabala Shah, *Vartanā* should mean delineation of emotion (*bhāva*) through brush work. Women admire the *Bhūṣaṇa* - decorative details, but as suggested by me, it is rather, the details together with the complete finishing. As far as colour combinations are concerned, these are enjoyed by people at large. It is obvious that this verse not only defines the four constituent elements of a painting as an art object but also grades them in terms of aesthetic qualities and responses evoked among social groups. The verse also indicates the author's understanding of differences in the taste of various categories of art lovers. The artist is directed to handle his efforts in painting so as to win the admiration from people with different tastes.

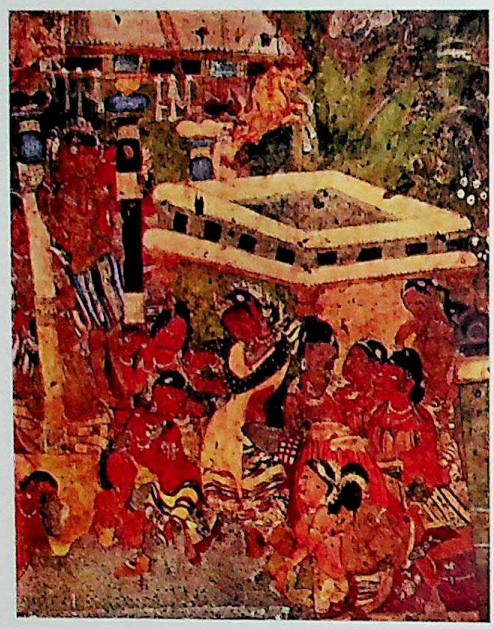

Plate 6. Example of *Bhulambho*. Stability and the ground supporting the figures (3)

The characteristic of the element of *Rekhā*, outline drawing, is further elucidated in other contexts. 7th and 8th verse of chapter 41, mention the *citrādoṣa*, the defects which can be better understood in the context of drawing. The two verses are almost verbatim repeated in chapter 43 (verses 17 and 18). The first fault is *daurbalyam*, that is feebleness or weakness. This can be a comment on the quality of line in the drawing. Significantly, this is followed by the next defect, that is, course or dotty lines (*bindu-rekhā*). This can also refer to hesitant lines, discontinuous lines, lacking in smooth flow. In a group of parallel verses in chapter 43, is included *vakra-rekhā*, crooked line among the defects. Here we quote verse 28, chapter 43, such a painter is recognized as knowledgeable in art who draws proficiently according to the movement of the wind, the waves and ripples, flames of fire and smoke, fluttering banners and

19 Shah Priyabala, (1958), *op.cit.*, p.129

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can be achieved primarily by outlines. *Citrasūtra* defines *atīva-citra*, best or high order painting as the one in which lines would be soft (*susnigdha*), clear or lucid (*vispasta*), tender (*sukumāra*) not crooked or unfaltering (*ajihma*) (37.17). At the same time, it is interesting to note that to draw just an ordinary human being is also listed among the defects, *mānavākāratā*. It has been suggested that a celestial figure looking like a commonplace man is implied by this term. In my view it refers to a bare outline drawn without modelling, or referential space. In a verse it is mentioned that absence of *Vartanā* (colour modelling) can appear *śuṣka*. To complete the list of shortcomings, I am mentioning *avibhakta*, which means lack of distinction. It is further elucidated by the undesirability of depicting large sized cheeks, lips and eyes. To be contrary to facts, *sanviruddha*, is also a defect.

Role of Line Reasserted in Medieval Period:

The role of line in the execution of the entire painting has been further elaborated in the medieval period while elucidating the concept of eight stages or limbs for finishing a painting. In *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* (c.1050 A.D), there are two interesting verses, although they are full of errors, these have been carefully amended by Ananda Coomaraswamy.[20]

वर्तिका (प्र)थमं तेषां द्वितीयं भूमिबन्धनम् ।
लेख्यं तृतीयं स्याद् रेखाकर्मणि (वर्ततेमिह लक्षणम्?) ॥
पञ्चमं (कर्ष कर्मच्च?) षष्ठं स्याद् वर्तनाक्रमः ।
सप्तमं (लेखनं लेखकरणं द्विचकर्म?) तथाष्टमम् ॥ 71.14-15

After reconstructing the verses, this distinguished scholar has interpreted that these together describe eight stages which are required to complete an

20 Coomaraswamy Anand. K., The Technique and theory of Indian painting, Technical studies in the Field of Fine Arts,III, 1934 (reprinted with notes by V. S. Agrawal in The Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Vol.XXIII, 1950).

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Indian painting, from its first stage to its culmination. Ashok Bhattacharya has further reconsidered the contents of these verses and holds the view that the eight phases can also be termed as '*eight limbs*'[21]. However, my view is that it is rather confusing to think in terms '*limbs*', because these stages are at the same time combined with the technique of application of materials.

The first stage, *vartikā*, refers to the preparation of the crayon, the drawing tool, which is different than the brush. The second stage is *bhūmibandhana*, that is preparation of the ground surface on which the painting will be carried out, such as on cloth or on wall. The third step is *lekhyam* (amended to *lepyam*) refers to the application of white priming on the ground surface. The fourth phase is rendering of *rekhākarma*, that is 'outlining' of forms. The fifth step is *karṣakarma*, which is a corrupt form of the word *varṇakarma*. This means that after the outlining of forms, the colours are filled on the ground layer. *Vartanā* is the sixth stage, which is evidently more than mere 'application of colour.' Citing the example of *Citrasūtra*, Coomaraswamy explains, that the term involves application of colour along with shading. We should rather think in terms of tonal gradations of colours. There is a slight confusion in the terms which stand for seventh and eighth stages, *lekhakarma* and *dvicakarma*. According to Bhattacharya, *lekhakaraṇa* stands for 'the act of delineation' (p.96) i.e. drawing with a brush. After filling of colours and application of shading (rather tonal gradations) once again outlines are drawn with brush, mostly in black colour. The eighth stage is the final step of completing the painting, i.e. *dvicakarma*, implying 'second or final line'. Here, instead of all over outlines, it indicates adding the details within the outlined forms. Thus the eight stages are enumerated as follows: *Vartikā, Bhūmibandhana, Lepyakarma, Varṇakarma, Vartanā, Rekhākarma, Lekhakaraṇa* and *Dvicakarma*.

In the earlier text, *Citrasūtra* (5th century), the artist is instructed to carry out the first outlining of forms (preliminary sketch, *hastalekhā* and *rekhākarma* of *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra* with white, dark yellow (i.e. yellow ochre of our times) or reddish brown (*gairika = geru)* and black. Of course the artist is at the same time reminded to compose the figures according to proper measure (*pramāṇa*) and stances (*sthānaka*). It is noteworthy that the artist is advised to begin with light tones and proceed towards darker shades. In our present

21 Bhattacharya Asok. K., *op.cit.*, p.92

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publication we can observe that in many drawings the outlines have been drawn in the sequence enumerated above. When the outlines are applied in a darker tone, the artist takes the opportunity to make corrections on the previous outlines which are in a lighter tone. *Rekhākarma* (the first sketching) is considered the fourth stage in *Samarāṅgaṇa Sūtradhāra.* However, the author of *Mānasollāsa* (12th century) has introduced very appropriate term of '*ākāra-janika*' for this first sketching in lines i.e. progenitive with respect to the representation.[22] Another term in *Mānasollāsa* with reference to the objects depicted is known as *ākāra-mātṛkā rekhā.*

While *lekhākarma* and *dvicakarma* refer to the seventh and eighth stages yet there is not sufficient explanation found in the texts. The art historian has to observe the aesthetic results in the existing examples of mural painting as in Ajanta caves and also in the thousands of Indian miniature paintings. The qualities of line which would apply to both outline drawings as well as outlines which are part of the 'finishing' stage, are enumerated in the *Citrasūtra.*

As the preliminary outline drawing is further elaborated by the artist, Sivaramamurti draws attention to the term *unmīlita* (or *unmīlana*), which refers to the final stage of the artist's activity when the eyes of the image or a character are opened.[23] The term also implies growth (or blossoming) as in the analogy this scholar has quoted from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṁbhava. Unmīlitaṁ tūlikayeva citraṁ* (उन्मीलितं तूलिकयेव चित्रं) "just as pictures awaken to the painter's brush, Pārvatī passed through a happy childhood and when all at once young womanhood came upon her...." Even as late as 18th century the Indian painter remembered and practised the technical process of finishing with the outlines. The Pahari school drawing KLC 1743 titled '*Vidayi*', is a befitting example of artist's power of *unmīlana.*

III

I take the next important verse from *Citrasūtra* which deals with *guṇas* or merits. However, this group of qualities are almost like principles of excellence i.e. different than what we have noted as elements. This group in a way implies creativity as much as skills, i.e. artistic genius.

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22 Bhattacharya Asok. K., 1976, *ibid.*, p. 101

23 Sivaramamurty C., *Chitrasutra,* p. 113

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स्थानप्रमाणभूलम्भो मधुरत्वं विभक्तता ।
सादृश्यं क्षयवृद्धिच गुणाश्चित्रस्य कीर्तिताः ॥ 41.9

Sthāna, refers to positions, postures, even movements and *pramāṇa* refers to the proportions or appropriate measurements, as explained quite elaborately in chapter 36 and 37.

Bhūlambha is a new concept which none of the earlier scholars have clearly defined. Sivaramamurti simply translated it as background in a painting. However, this is a vague explanation.[24] The pioneer scholar, Stella Kramrisch, had observed that the *Citrasūtra* is silent regarding how to combine groups of figures in a painting, something like composition. This view is repeated by Sivaramamurti, adding that the phenomenon of pictorial space has not been explained in *Citrasūtra*. However, he missed the suggestion by Priyabala Shah, who proposed a literal translation: *Bhūlambha* as perpendicular reaching to the ground.[25] I suggest that this term could be understood in terms of how every figure and object is rooted to the earth that is the ground plane. In the dictionary, *bhūmi* means earth as well as territory, that is space. (Plate 8) This implies the level of layers of space that is foreground, middle ground and background, together with the emerging compositional structure. It must be clear that merely mentioning the 'background' is not sufficient. Here we should note that another variation of *Bhūlambha* has been mentioned for the first time in the chapter 37 which deals with general human proportions. The concluding verse is formulated as follows: *sthānairanekakarṇaiḥ* i.e. *sthāna* and *aneka karaṇa*, positions and body movements (*karaṇas* are dance movements). Next part is *sthirabhūmilambhaiḥ kāryam*, which Sivaramamurti again merely translates as appropriate background. But I think something

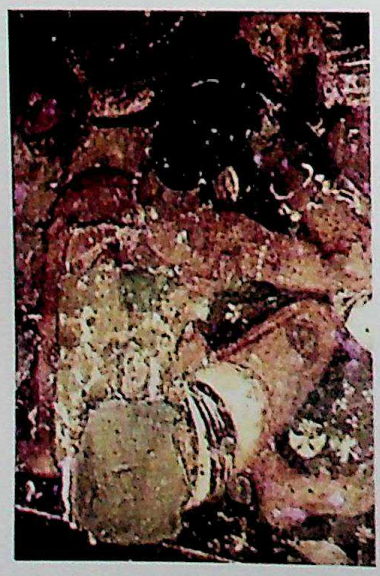

Plate 8. Example of *Bhulambho*. Stability and the ground supporting the figures (5)

24 Sivaramamurti C., *Citrasūtra*, (1978), *op.cit.* p.184
25 Shah Priyabala, (1958), *op.cit.* p.112

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more is implied, stability and the ground supporting the figures. (Plate 9)

In verse 21 chapter 43, the importance of *bhulambha* is again high-lighted, such painting is considered auspicious which has the *bhūlambha* that suits it, etc.[26] Chapter 43, verse 30, perhaps also relates to the notion of *Bhūlambha*: proper arrangement of figures in a composition of a painting is noteworthy, by special effort, the crowding of figures, one directly in front of another, should be avoided, *sammukhatvamthaiteṣām citre yatnādvivarjayet.*

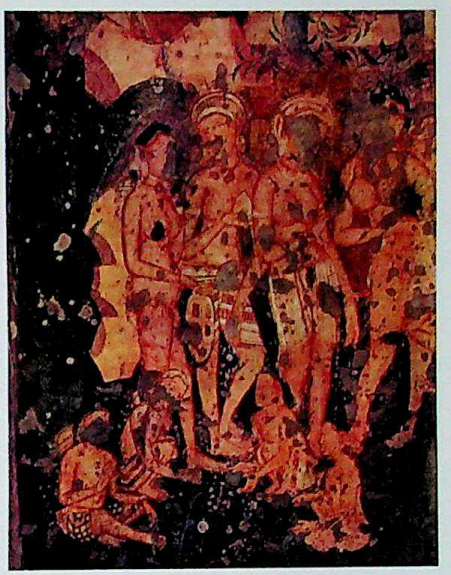

Plate 9. Example of *Bhulambho.* Stability and the ground supporting the figures (1)

The third quality of excellence is *madhuratva*, i.e. sweetness in execution. (Plate 10) Another term used in the earlier chapter 37, is *sukumāramajihalekham*, (37.17) which means delicate, soft, smooth, certainly referring to drawing in lines. The fourth quality is *vibhāktva*, which Sivaramamurti translated as symmetry. But atleast here other dictionary meanings also seem relevant, which include: to make distinct, to distinguish, thus clarity, lucidity in delineation, are convincing equivalents.

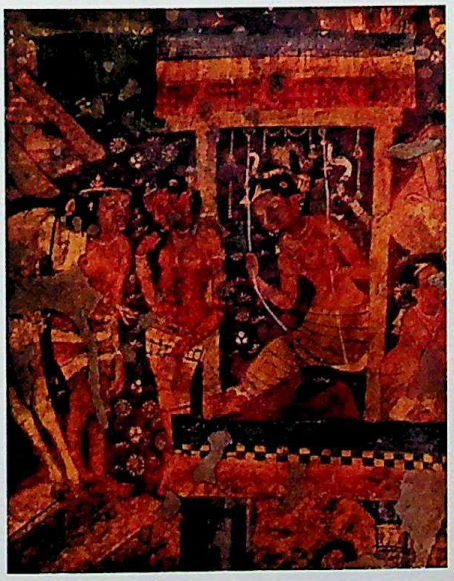

Plate 10. Example of *Sādrishya.* drawing by Sivaramamurti (2)

The sixth *guṇa* or principle, *Sādṛśya* has been translated as likeness to the original. Here it is relevant to mention that for Stella Kramrisch *Citrasūtra* is an attempt to define creative transformation of nature into art.[27] Stella Kramrisch may have arrived at this

26 Sivaramamurti C., (1978), *op.cit.* p.196

27 Stella Kramrisch, (1924), *op.cit.* p.52

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conclusion in the manner the term *Sādṛśya* occurs in several chapters of *Citrasūtra*. She also introduced the term verisimilitude. For Sivarammurti *Sādṛśya* is the element of veracity to nature. (Plate 11) *Sādṛśya* also implies portraiture i.e. likeness. We have already quoted the phenomenon of *darpaṇe pratibimbavat* = like the reflection in a mirror, while defining the stylistic variety of '*Satya*'. Here, we should also quote the important reference (chapter 35) according to which as in the art of dance so in the art of painting, the aim is at a close imitation of life from the three worlds. *Yathā nritte tathā citre trailokyānukṛti smṛtā.* (35.5) Here another synonym is brought up, viz. *anukṛti.* Sivaramamurti elaborates that the *doṣa, cetanā rahita*, is answered in the *Citrasūtra*. The painting should be infused with life, *sajīva iva dṛśyate saśvāsa iva yaccitram taccitram śubhalakṣaṇam. Sādṛśyapratikṛti* is a phrase coined by Kālidasa in the context of portrait of Indumati, in his famous *Kāvya, Raghuvaṁśa.*

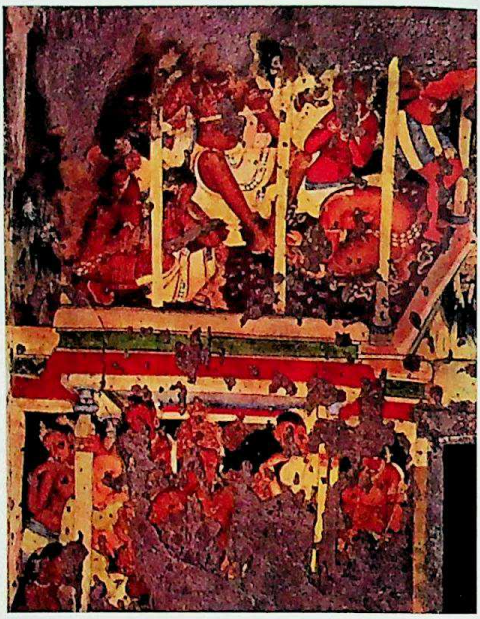

Plate 11. Example of *Sādrishya.* drawing by Sivaramamurti (3)

The verse 48 of *Rūpanirmāṇa*, chapter 42 is very specific: *dṛṣṭaṁ susadṛśaṁ kāryaṁ sarveṣāmviśeṣataḥ citre sādṛśyakarṇaṁ pradhānaṁ parikīrtitam.* What can be easily observed and studied should be so sketched and painted as to lay stress on their proper semblance to the original. In a picture the most essential factor is to bring out prominently the semblance of the portrait to that what is portrayed. (trans: Sivaramamurti).[28]

The verse 29 in chapter 43, explains that such an artist can be reckoned as a great master who can draw accurately a chosen subject, clearly suggesting it as asleep and breathing or dead and bereft of life.[29] (Plate 12) This verse

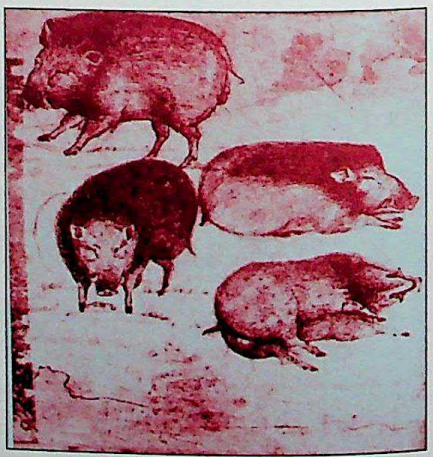

Plate 12. Example of *Sādrishya.* drawing by Sivaramamurti (4)

28 Sivaramamurti C., 1978, *op.cit.* p.189

29 Sivaramamurti C., (1978), *op.cit.* p.197

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also adds another concept, that of variation of depths and heights (*Nimnonnata*) rendered by light and shade (*Raṅga Vartanā*).

Sivaramamurti quotes a significant instance from *Uttararāmacarita* (Bhavabhūti), as Sītā amuses herself looking at the long series of pictures on the walls of the *Citraśālā* of the royal palace at Ayodhyā. (Plate 21) She is so impressed by the realistic treatment that she is almost transported again into the Daṇḍaka forest as it were, and is so frightened as she approaches the Śūrpaṇakhā episode, that Rāma has to remind her of the fact that she is looking only at pictures. (Plate 13)[30] (See the note on *Divyādivya Nāyikā* which follows)

Sādṛśya as imitation of nature is amply supported by the norms adopted for perfection in the handling of the elements of line, shading (*Vartanā*) and *Kṣaya-vṛddhi* and also *Bhūlambha*. The few scholars, who, on confronting the term *Sādṛśya*, appear to have fallen in the trap of thinking in terms of naturalism of western art and therefore either ignored the serious implications or took resort to explaining away the differences between Indian and western art. I hold the view that the knowledge of the external world or sensible world through the *jñānendriya* of the eye, is also involved in the conception of the *Sādṛśya*, that is, the phenomenon of *indriya pratyakṣa* (sense - perception). This aspect of *Sādṛśya* has not been commented on by the earlier translators of *Citrasūtra*. Besides, there seem to be no indications regarding affinities with any school of Indian philosophy in the text of *Citrasūtra*. I presume the *Nyāya* theory of knowledge and cognitive act, *jñāna kriyā*, or rather *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* epistemology should be brought in the discussion while interpreting the concept of *Sādṛśya* with reference to Indian painting. I particularly would like to point out the notion that perceptive knowledge is produced by sense-object-contact *indriyārtha-sannikarṣa* in which there is also the role of past experience, that is, *smṛti* (memory). Self knows the object through the eyes in the case of visual perception. I am quoting here from Vācaspatimiśra. In fact painting is the record of the phenomenon of sense-object-contact.[31]

Inspite of the fact that an elaborate chapter on temple architecture is integrated with the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, the author(s) have concluded the *Citrasūtra* with a remarkable verse, asserting the superiority of the art of

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30 Sivaramamurti C., *The Painter in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1978.

31 For Vācaspatimiśra (A.D. 840) and his *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā*, see Jadunath Sinha, *Indian Realism*, Delhi, 1972, (first edition, London, 1938).

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painting. No doubt painting is certainly the harbinger of the best of auspiciousness. Quoting amazing analogies and metaphors it is claimed that the art of *citra* is like a king, who is the chief among human beings, like Sumeru the best of the mountains, and like Garuḍa, foremost among the egg born.

यथा समेरुः प्रवरो नगानां यथाण्डजानां गरुडः प्रधानः ।
यथा नराणां प्रवरः क्षितीशस्तथा कलानामिह चित्रकल्पः ॥ 43.39

IV

'World Appearance' and Pictorial Naturalism (*Sādṛśya*) *vis-a-vis* Indian Painting:

This small note should be considered as additional deliberation concerning the notion of *Sāḍṛśya* propounded in the *Citrasūtra*. During the initial stages of researches on the schools of Indian painting in general, the element of naturalism as one of its characteristic features was denied to Indian painting. Indeed it was implied that it was so due to the incapability of the Indian painters.[32] A certain level of naturalism was apparent in many Mughal school paintings which was noted as one of its plus point. However, this quality was imparted to it due to the acquaintance of some Mughal artists with a few examples of European paintings which were shown to them and which served as models for the pictorial techniques to achieve the effects of naturalism.[33] The habitual theory of influences of the European pictorial art on Indian artists goes to the extent of proposing bouts of European influences with 'dead' intervals or a passive continuation of traditional practices with dramatic high points as a result of inputs of European devices.[34] Throughout the last one hundred years of art historical researches in India, continuous discoveries of hoards of amazingly new and unknown paintings have been made. Much of the material of such vast range of publications is now accumulated as a great corpus

32 Birdwood George, comments on E. B. Havell's paper 'Art Administration in India', *JRSA*,1909.

33 See the article on Kesu Das by Amina Okada, 'Kesu Das: The impact of Western Art on the Mughal Painting', in *Mughal Masters: Further Studies*, edited by Asok Kumar Das, Mumbai, Marg Publication, 1998.

34 A recent example of the importance given to European influenced naturalism in the manifestations of Indian painting during the 18th century, see Jeremiah Losty, 'Towards a New Naturalism', in *After the Great Mughal*, edited by Barbara Schmitz, Mumbai, Marg Publications, 2002.

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of documentation.[35] It will be only narrow mindedness not to re-assess hurried and not fully substantiated conceptions formulated more than hundred years ago, by colonial scholars, at a stage when the art-historical discipline was just being born. My contention is that the range of Indian drawings and their stylistic features published in this volume is one such corpus which compels us, experienced and sensitive viewers, to ignore early colonial biased impressions. Indeed, we may ask, as far as pictorial representational devices are concerned, can we not think of them in terms of more or less basic and universal practices. Here it will be relevant to quote an appropriate observation of E.B. Havell (1908) who held different views than his colonial colleagues. ".....when the Indian artist finds himself on the same plane of thought as the European, he does not lack the capacity for drawing correctly, according to academic rules, or for making truthful transcripts from nature."[36] We are repeatedly being reminded regarding the fascinating phenomenon of empirical experiences of the Indian painters based on the observed world around them as we keep intensely observing the delineated drawings, which are the end result of the essence of those empirical experiences.

As part of strengthening the view point of the characteristic of naturalism in Indian Art (both sculpture and painting mediums). I am taking up the discussion of 'cognitive act' from several Indian philosophical schools. The artist's delineation of the world and life around him, would come, under the category of 'world appearance', which is a concept that philosophers have been discussing through the centuries, in the context of reality of the world. Great philosophers like Śaṅkarācārya and Rāmānujācārya hold divergent views, in particular Śaṅkara holds the view of falsity of the world and therefore his contention is that objects of consciousness are mere illusory manifestations. Since Rāmānuja's view point is quite positive, I quote his view in support of the view I am presenting in this book. In what sense is the 'world appearance' false according to Śaṅkara's view? S.N. Das Gupta explains,[37] "The world is said to be false, a mere product of *māyā*." The 'world appearance' is 'is not', since it

35 For detailed bibliographies see *Masters of Indian Painting*, Vol. II, edited by Milo. C. Beach, Eberhard Fischer and B. N. Goswamy, Artibus Asiae Publishers, Zurich,2011.

36 Havell E. B., 'Indian Sculptures and Painting', second edition 1927, Oxford. p.242

37 Das Gupta S. N., *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I, 1922, Cambridge, Chapter X. p.443

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does not continue to manifest itself in all times, and has its manifestation up to the moment that the right knowledge dawns. The world appearance is said to be 'is' or existing, since it appears to be so for the time the state of ignorance persists in us. Since it exists for a time it is *sat* (is), but since it does not exist for all times it is *asat* (is not). This is the appearance and also, the falsehood of the world-appearance *(jagat-prapañca)* that it is neither *sat* nor *asat* in an absolute sense." Śaṅkara propounds, 'Brahman alone is true. Brahman differs from all other things in this manner, that it is self-luminous *(svaprakāśa)* and has no form, it cannot therefore be the object of any other consciousness that grasps it."

Rāmānuja on the other hand gives a different explanation, concerning the 'world appearance' as summed up by S.N. Das Gupta.[38] "The entire universe of wondrous construction, regulated throughout by extraordinary order and method, has sprung into being from Brahman, is maintained by Him in existence, and will also ultimately return to Him. Brahman is that to the greatness of which there is no limitation. Though the creation, maintenance and absorption of the world signify three different traits, yet they do not refer to different substances, but to one substance in which they inhere. The real nature of Brahman is, however, His changeless being and His eternal omniscience and his unlimited-ness in time, space and character."

Knowledge is produced through the process known as *pramāṇa*. When we speak of the self validity of knowledge, we may speak of cognition as being determined by the objects that it grasps.[39]

Knowledge is the means by which we determine the nature of objects and measure our behaviour, accordingly *Pramāṇa*, or valid knowledge, is defined as the cognition of objects as they are. Consciousness belongs to the senses and that cognitions through the different senses are integrated together in the same body, and it is by such means that an object perceived by the eye is also identified as the same entity as that grasped by the tactile apprehension. If the world were non-existent, then it could not have appeared in consciousness.

A parallel controversy and philosophical discourse had taken place among the Buddhist thinkers, especially between the *Yogācāra* School and the *Sautantrika* School.[40] The Buddhist *Yogācāra* philosophy propounds the

38 Das Gupta S. N., *op.cit*, Vol.III, 1922, Cambridge, Chapter XX. p.195
39 Das Gupta S. N., *ibid.*, p.203
40 Sinha Jadunath, *Indian Realism*, Delhi, 1938.

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concept of subjective idealism and does not admit the existence of permanent soul and that of external objects. This school of philosophy is committed to the doctrine of momentary existence. The so-called object and the cognition produced by it are momentary. However, the denial of their reality would lead to collapse of practical life. Cognitions intervene between subject and object. The perception of the object is mediated by the perception of its cognition. Contrarily the *Sautantrika* philosopher is a realist and safes vouch for the common sense view recognizing the reality of external objects, but they are not objects of perception, they are inferred from their cognitions. Cognitions are directly perceived, whereas external objects are inferred from them as their causes. We undoubtedly perceive blue and the like as external objects and react to them, and pass over internal cognitions in everyday life.

The Nyāya-Vaiśesika school of Indian philosophy propounds the reality of the external world which is accessible to reason.[41] The external world is real and intelligible, it is of such a nature that it submits to the scrutiny of reason. Intellectual analysis is adequate to the comprehension of reality. Thus according to Jadunath Sinha, Nyāya realism is akin to a type of modern Western realism.[42] Guatama, one of the propounders of *Nyāya* philosophy points out that objects are apprehended by means of right cognition. There is an essential difference between a cognition and an object. A cognition is of the nature of "I" or "I know", while an object is of the nature of "this" or the known. A cognition belongs to self and is subjective. An object is presented to the self and is objective. A cognition is a state of the self while an object is of the nature of not self.

Perception (*pratyakṣa*) as explained by S.N. Das Gupta is defined as that right knowledge generated by the contact of the senses with the object, devoid of doubt and error, just at the time when the object is seen.[43] That right knowledge which is generated directly by the contact of senses (*jñānendriyas*) with the object is said to be the product of the perceptual process. Perception may be considered as two level phenomena, initially it is indeterminate (*nirvikalpa*) and subsequently it is determinate (*savikalpa*).[44] Indeterminate

41 Das Gupta S. N., *op.cit*, Vol. I, 1922, Cambridge, Chapter VIII. p.310

42 Sinha Jadunath, (1938) *op.cit.*,

43 Das Gupta S. N., *op.cit.* Vol. I, p.333

44 Das Gupta S. N., *ibid.* p.334

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perception is that in which the thing is taken at the very first moment of perception in which it appears without any association with name. However, the manifold object is apprehended with generality, substantiality and quality. Determinate perception takes place after the indeterminate stage is just passed; it reveals things as being endowed with all characteristics and qualities and names just as we find in much of our concrete experience. The object is analyzed into its parts and how it is distinct from other objects.

The manifestation of Indian drawings is the activity of making pictorial representations of the objects of the observed world through the agency of human mind, imagination and manual skill. It is my contention that the visual image can be compared with the consciousness in the human brain. The painter's drawing in outlines is the record of the cognition of the object as perceived by the cognizer. 'The art of drawing' is a parallel phenomenon to what the philosophers conceptualize as 'cognitive act'. The thing exists out there which is reconstructed as the object, by and in the mind of the observer/ knower/ *jñātā*. In the case of the artist this is reconstructed by him from his mind, out on the paper surface with the configuration of elements of pictorial language. The artist is like the *jñātā* /knower. Self employing different instruments e.g. *jñāna-indriyas*, is part of the process of *jñāna kriyā* (act of knowing). Self knows the object through the eyes in the case of visual perception according to Nyāya philosophy. Of course 'act of knowing' is different than the instrument which is employed in order to know. However, the process of making a drawing in outlines by the artist is quite akin to the 'act of knowing'.

To sum up, we note that many presumptions are held regarding the developments in Indian painting, even under the cover of objectivity, namely the extent of Persian influence and the extent of European influence. It is logically illogical to propose a presumptuous phenomenon in which case the receiver of influence becomes subsumed under the impact of the influence. We must support and explore what is Indian in Indian painting, that is the challenge! However, the Indian element also does not have to be the oft repeated spiritual quality. The Indian approach is both matter of fact everyday reality, and when need arises to gear up for depicting something that is spiritually higher or out of this world.

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44 Das Gupta S. N., *ibid.* p.334

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ON SOME NOTABLE VARIANTS IN BHARTṚHARI'S *PURUṢĀRTHOPADEŚA*

Satya Vrat Varma*

Whatever form the epigrams of Bhartṛhari might have had in the beginning, they have come down as three compendiums of a hundred verses each respectively related to Ethics *(Nīti)*, love *(Śṛṅgāra)* and Renunciation *(Vairāgya)*, which, taken together are known as *Śatakatraya* in common parlance. Because of the worldly wisdom deep understanding of human behaviour and subtle criticism of man's foibles and failings that they embody the epigrams evoked so wide an appeal that they became from a very early time household adages in their original or vernacular form. Their popularity is addedly attested by the large corpus of Mss preserved across the country and abroad giving rise to two broad Recensions, Northern and Southern the latter being more homogeneous than the former which unhappily tends to be rather amorphous. While the three *Śatakas* are found to have influenced to some extent such an early writer as Subandhu both in thought and expression[1] the first definitive reference to Bhartṛhari as the author of the *Śatakas* occurs in Merutuṅga's *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* (A.D. 1304), where it is said : *tena Bhartṛhariṇā Vairāgyaśatakādiprabandhāni Cakrire*[2].

The *Puruṣārthopadeśaḥ* (P) is another century of Bhartṛhari's maxims which unhappily continues to suffer oblivion though it was issued in the

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* 7/34, Purani Abadi, Near Namdev Flour Mills, Sri Ganganagar-335001

1. *Vāsavadattā-kathā* of Subandhu ed. Jaydev Mohan Lal Shukla, Rajasthan Oriental Institute, Jodhpur, 1966 A.D., Introduction, pp. 14-15.
2. *Puruṣārthopadeśa* of Bhartṛhari ed. K. V. Sarma, Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1969, Introduction, p. IX

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Vishveshvaranand Indological Series (No. 44), as far back as 1969.[3] Doubtless a distinct entity it represents in a way the *summum bonum* of the *Śatakatraya*. However, far from being an amalgam of the three *Śatakas*, the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* is made up of such verses drawn from them as have a bearing on the highest *puruṣārtha*, *Mokṣa* and its accessories like virtue, penance and renunciation. That is why while touching upon the misery of life and guile of women, it lays great emphasis on the ephemeral nature of human existence with *mokṣa* representing the ultimate bliss which every sane individual aspires to realise. Apart from its worthy contents, the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* is marked by considerable textual significance. It throws up, besides others a host of such variants which are peculiar to it and are not met with even in the vast mass of Mss of Bhartṛhari's epigrams, painstakingly examined and analysed by D.D. Kosambi to constitute the text of his masterly tome.[4] While some of these variants blur, if not blunt, the import of the context and expression better and may well have been the original readings. A perceptive appraisal of some of the more significant variants is sure to bring into relief their tenability or otherwise in the text.

Verse Twenty Nine brings out with a measure of poignance man's irresistable addiction to sensual pleasures. As aptly remarked by the poet, while the succumbing of the lesser creatures to the temptation is understandable, the fall of a wise person defies logic. The phenomenon is sought to be emphasised by the conduct of a petly moth and fish. While the moth falls victim to the deceptively winsome flame the fish courts death by eating the dainty bait vilely laid by the angler. The relevant text reads as follows :

अजानन् दाहात्म्यं पततु शलभस्तत्र गहने
स मीनोऽप्यज्ञानाद् बळिशसितमश्नातु पिशितम् ॥

The reading दाहात्म्यं is noticed by Kosambi but he opts for माहात्म्यं[5] in its

3. *Ibid.*, Vishveshvaranand Institute Publication, 456

4. *Śatakatrayādi-Subhāṣitasaṁgraha*, The Epigrams Attributed to Bhartṛhari, ed. D.D. Kosambi, Singhi Jain Series No. 23, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1948. Henceforth referred to as *Śatakatrayādi*.

5. *Śatakatrayādi, op.cit.* p. 62, Notes under 160 (p. 62)

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place, which, it must be admitted, is a widely accepted reading. But दाहात्म्यं underscores the burning power of the flame with greater vigour, while 'greatness' denoted by माहात्म्यं does not accord well with the 'fire', *dahanam,* unless it is assumed that the 'greatness' of the flame lies in its burning capacity alone. Even then, दाहात्म्यं has the merit of being a more direct reading and is suited better to the context.

बळिशसितं in the second quarter is an altogether a new reading, not met with in any of the numerous Mss collated by Kosambi. बडिशयुतमश्नातु पिशितम् that he prefers to read[6], sounds prosaic, to say the least. The fish eating the piece of flesh alongwith the hook is a quaint proposition. बळिशसितमश्नातु पिशितम् adopted in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* conveys a perfectly cogent sense. The fish devours the flesh attached (*sita*) to the hook. In view of their more agreeable connotation, दाहात्म्यं and बळिशसितं seem to have been the original readings used by the poet.

Verse Eight emphasises with a number of illustrations the harsh truth that great men are undeterred by the misfortunes, whatever be their gravity. They rather come out of the impasse with flying colours. Of the several examples listed in the stanza one is a war hero who has won against heavy odds. The expression used by the poet in the context is समरविजयी हेतिदलितः । The reading *'hetidalitaḥ',* to be sure, is not peculiar to the *Puruṣārthopadeśa.* Kosambi takes note of it but sees more merit in हेतिनिहतः which he retains in his text[7] ! Now both the readings have to be taken in their secondary sense : हेतिभिर् निहतः । दलित आहतः क्षत इत्यर्थः । If taken literally, they would do violence to the expression and render it unfit to convey the poet's contention. Both are to be interpreted as 'wounded by weapons'. However, हेतिनिहतः seems to be harsh in its connotation. While it has ominous implication of outright murder, दलितः at worst implies 'cut, wounded'; and this is what is intended here. A soldier wounded in the battle that he has won merits unstinted esteem.

Man's eternal weakness for carnal gratification is sought to be highlighted in verse Eleven. Even the high and mighty are vulnerable to cupid's operation.

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6. *Ibid.,* p. 62

7. *Ibid.,* p. 5. Notes under 11 (p. 5)

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One may tame a ferocious lion but is helpless to tide over the frenzy of passion. कन्दर्पदर्पदमने विरला मनुष्याः, retained in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa*, seems to be more in tune with man's limited capacity to grapple with the might of the god of love. He at best can hope to subdue it. It is well beyond his power to pound cupid's 'arrogance' *(darpa)* to dust which the reading कन्दर्पदर्पदलने presupposes on his part. *Damane* has a decided edge over *dalane*.

The various factors that lead to the downfall of the respective persons and objects are listed well in Verse Seven. So far as Friendship *(maitrī)* is concerned, the sources differ on the cause that wrecks it. A majority of them attribute it to 'lack of affection', मैत्री चाप्रणयात् while it is *prārthanā* that is held to be the real cause (मैत्री प्रार्थनया) in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa*. Since all the causes mentioned in the verse are put in the Ablative case (दौर्मन्त्र्यान् नृपतिर्विनश्यति यतिः सङ्गात् सुतो लालनात् etc), the Instrumental case in *prārthanayā* seems to be out of joint here, and, therefore, tends to make it somewhat suspect. But despite the difference in the case ending, प्रार्थनया has an edge over अप्रणयात् । Friendship itself stems from mutual affection (and trust). The two are inseparable. Formed on the basis *praṇaya*, *maitrī* flourishes unhindered. It is the frequent demand for one thing or the other on the part of the friends that drains out affection and culminates in the break up. Being a more potent cause of the breech of friendship, प्रार्थनया has a better claim to be the original reading.

Verse Twenty four represents the remorse of a hapless person, who, to his chagrin, wasted his life on useless pursuits, and did nothing substantial to impart it a measure of glory. The last quarter of the verse is a virtual cry of an agonised heart over the futility of life : कालोऽयं परपिण्डलोलुपतया काकैरिव प्रेरितः[8], 'we have wasted life in the manner of crows, greedily craving for other's food'. The *Puruṣārthopadeśa* prefers to read परपिण्डभक्षणतया in place of परपिण्डलोलुपतया । It is notable that the P-reading *(parapiṇḍabhakṣaṇatayā)* is not known to any of the codices or printed texts. While the greed for other's food is itself a demeaning act for a self-respecting person, his sliding to utter destitution so that he has to subsist on others' leavings is the negation of human dignity.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 69

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परपिण्डभक्षणतया brings out his misery more effectively than °लोलुपतया, and, is, as such a better reading. It may well have been Bhartṛhari's original.

The superiority of learning over the vanity of regal glory is well established in Verse Thirty eight. An erudite scholar is more than a match to a king. The third foot of the verse brings out in relief the difference between the two by virtue of the abiding and ephemeral nature of their respective possessions : इत्थं मानधनातिदूरमुभयोरप्यावयोरन्तरं is how it reads in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa*. The man of learning has the gumption to warn the mighty king that a wide gulf occasioned by wisdom separates him from him (the king) who, in ultimate analysis, is a slave to his riches. How, a slave could lord over a master ? The reading noted above happily secures the greatness of wisdom vis-a-vis the kingly possessions. The alternative reading मानद नातिदूरमुभयोरप्यावयोरन्तरं, though favoured by Kosambi[9], willy-nilly serves to belittle the greatness of learning. At best it puts the two on an equal footing. P-'s reading raises the man of learning many notches higher than the arrogant king.

With the learned man pouring scorn on the king, a similar comparison between the two is witnessed in verse Forty five. The scholar meets the king on his home ground. The contrast between their 'overlordship' is drawn in the first foot of the verse, which in Swami Madhavanand's text of the *Vairāgyaśataka* reads अर्थानामीशिषेत्वं वयमपि गिरामीश्महे यावदर्थम् । 'You lord over the riches, we over the wealth of words in all their meanings and implications'. It seems to be an apt comparison but the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* discards यावदर्थम् in favour of यावदिच्छम्, while Kosambi opts for यावदित्थम् । *Yāvadiccham* seems to imply that 'we are masters of speech so long as we want to be' यावदित्थं, on the other hand, means 'we lord over the words in the manner you do over the riches'. The two unwittingly seem to weaken the force of the scholar's assertion, and are thus unable to measure well यावदर्थं which denotes a far happy sense in the context.

The second quarter seeks to compare the 'valour' of the two contenders. शूरस्त्वं वादिजल्पव्युपशमनविधावक्षयं पाटवं नः is how it runs in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa*. *Jalpa* in the P-'s text is a new variant, not noted in any other text or Ms. It is almost

9. *Ibid.*, p. 64

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uniformly replaced by *darpa* in the majority of texts including Kosambi's edition.[10] It is indeed flattering to wear down the arrogance of one's rival, but the reading *jalpa* goes far ahead in reducing the opponent to a lesser person. His disputation as implied by *jalpa,* was no more than an incoherent prattle which evoked resounding rebuff from the wellequipped scholar. In view of its far-reaching implication, *jalpa* suits the context better. It is not unreasonable to surmise that Bhartṛhari had written the text as the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* reads it.

With the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* reading it as सेवन्ते त्वां धनान्धा मतिमलहतये त्वामपि श्रोतुकामाः, the third quarter, contrary to the first hemistich, enigmatically ceases to attempt a comparison between the two and devotes itself to address the royal contender alone. The uneasy situation is created by the reading त्वामपि which is met with only in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa.* It may well have been a scribal error for मामपि which is uniformly accepted as a genuine reading. It pointedly brings into focus the contrast between the two. While the king is sought for petty pittance by the greedy, to the scholar flock the aspirants to seek wisdom.

The fourth foot of the verse stands as मध्यप्यास्था न ते चेत्त्वयि मम नितरामेव राजन्ननास्था in Madhavanand's text. "If thou hast no regard for me, well, O King I have absolutely none for thee." So far so good. The text of foot appears in a somewhat new garb in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* : मध्यप्यास्था न ते चेत् त्वयि मम सुतरामेष राजन् गतोऽस्मि । 'If you have no respect for me, I have certainly none for you, and here I go, O King.' The P-text not only yields the whole sense denoted by Madhavanand's text it addedly shows the scholar's utter contempt for the king, whose vicinity he hurriedly leaves without fear of the consequences that may follow his 'unbecoming' behaviour in the royal court. Whether original or not, the P-text is marked by happy and effective connotations.

Within the narrow limits of a solitary verse (No. 60) Bhartṛhari chooses to dilate a bit upon the invoilability of death with an anguish associated with it. 'Sceptre' and 'bowl' all must tumble down. None can escape its deadly clutch. The phenomenon is beautifully summed up in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa.*

10. *Ibid.,* p. 65

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भ्रान्तः कष्टमहो गतस्स नृपतिः सामन्तचक्रं च तत्
पार्श्वे तस्य च या विदग्धपरिषत् ताश्चन्द्रबिम्बाननाः ।
उद्रिक्तः स राजपुत्रनिवहस्ते बन्दिनस्ताः कथाः
सर्वं यस्य वशात् स्मृतेः पथमगात् कालाय तस्मै नमः ॥

The text as it stands is tarnished by a modicum of tatuology गतस्सनृपति and सर्वं यस्य वशात् स्मृतेः पथमगात् are the phrases that do not mix well. To talk again of one who is already gone as having become the object of memory is bad poetry. It is perhaps to obviate the flaw that Kosmbi chooses to read भ्रातः कष्टमहो महान् स नृपतिः[10a] । The expresssion doubtless smoothens the anomaly, but the phrase भ्रातः कष्टमहो sounds rather prosaic, not worthy of the muse of Bhartṛhari. This is what seems to have prompted a gifted scribe, at some point of time, to substitute भ्रातः कष्टमहो by सा रम्या नगरी । Interestingly it evoked wide approbation and came to be looked upon as a genuine part of the quarter. Whatever its merit or demerit the phrase सा रम्या नगरी serves to expand the list of the high objects and personages that, despite their grandeur and arrogance, have to submit meekly to the dictates of Kāla : सा रम्या नगरी महान् स नृपतिः सामन्तचक्रं च तत् ।

या विदग्धपरिषत् in the second foot of the verse is a new reading that the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* adopts in place of the better known यापि राज परिषत्. Apparently identical विदग्ध परिषत् heightens the poignancy of the loss. What to speak of the lesser people, even the royal assembly of wise counsellors is effaced out of existence[11].

10a. *Ibid.*, p. 66

11. Compare -
They say the Lion and the
Lizard keep
The Courts where Jamshid
gloried and drank deep:
And Bahram, that great
Hunter - the Wild Ass
Stamps o'er his Head, and he
lies fast asleep (XVII)

The Illustrated Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, by Edward Fitzgerald, Caxton Editions, p. 31

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That the homeless anchorite is equipped with all the paraphernalia of a king is sought to be explained in Verse Ninety Six, which runs as follows in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa*.

महीशय्या शय्या विततमुपधानं भुजलता
वितानं चाकाशं व्यजनमनुकूलोऽयमनिलः ।
स्फुरच्चन्द्रो दीपो विरतिवनितासङ्गमुदितः
सुखं शेते शान्तः तनुविभवभूमिर्नृप इव ॥

The stanza has been subjected, down the years to quite some tinkering with and substitution of several of its expressions. Swami Madhavananda replaces महीशय्या शय्या by महाशय्या पृथ्वी reads शरच्चन्द्रो दीपः in place of स्फुरच्चन्द्रो दीपः and rejects सुखं शेते शान्तः in favour of सुखी शान्तः शेते[12]. While the other two readings do not make much of difference in the sense of the respective expressions, शरच्चन्द्रो दीपः preferred by him defies logic. Since the autumnal moon appears in the autumn alone, the reading शरच्चन्द्रो दीपः implies that the Muni had to go without a lamp in the better part of the year. The anomaly is removed by the variant स्फुरच्चन्द्रो दीपः which is more in accord with the context.

It is the fourth quarter of the verse that needs serious consideration. Kosambi reads सुखं शान्तः शेते मुनिरतनुभूतिर्नृप इव[13] in place of सुखं शेते शान्तः तनुविभवभूमिर्नृप इव । Now, the *bhūti* (affluence) of the *Muni* detailed in the preceding three quarters, confined as it is to a few natural objects and the imperceptible *virati* (detachment), cannot be rated as *atanu* (abundant) by any stretch of imagination. It would be sheer overdoing to equate him with a king endowed with phenomenal power, pelf and pleasure. अतनुभूतिर्नृप इव is untenable in the situation. It seems to have been cooked up by an ill-equipped copyist to give the anchorite a larger than life size. तनुविभवभूमिर्नृप इव though rather bald, seems to reflect the *Muni's* 'affluence' in precise terms. With a piece of land and the luxury of a nature's fan lamp and canopy he was not even a shadow of a king. It (तनुविभवभूमिर्नृप इव), therefore, has the credentials of a more worthy expression answering well the situation detailed in the verse.

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12. *Vairāgyaśatakam*, Translated by Swami Madhavananda, Advaita Ashram, Kolkata, Verse 94, p. 56

13. *Śatakatrayādi, op.cit.*, p. 75-76

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Verse Four lays down the harsh truth that it may be possible to do the impossible, but it was beyond human ingenuity to make a conceited person see reason. Of the three impossibles mentioned in the Verse, the first relates to pulling out a gem from the fangs of a crocodile. The text that embodies the frightening truth reads in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* as follows : प्रसह्य मणिमुद्धरेन् मकरदंष्ट्रांकुरात् । Dhanasāra, the earliest commentator of Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas* also has much the same text[14]. Though claimed to be a new variant, it (दंष्ट्रांकुरात्) has been accepted by Kosambi as well[15]. Whatever the merit that these worthies might have seen in it, दंष्ट्रांकुरात् runs counter to the spirit of the verse. The verse purports to denote that it was easier to extract a gem from the deadly fangs of a crocodile than to appease an audacious fool. In view of the grave peril involved in the exercise, if it could ever be undertaken, it is absurd to compare the crocodile's fang to an *aṅkura*, a shoot of grass. While the former strikes terror in every heart, the *aṅkura* is a harmless thing. By no stretch of imagination can the two claim to be identical, so apart in strength they are, where as an apparent identity is inherent in the *Rūpaka*. The imputation *(āropa)* of *aṅkura* on the *daṅṣṭrā* serves to blunt the ferocity of fang. That makes the bonafides of °दंष्ट्रांकुरात् suspect in the situation. The variant °दंष्ट्रान्तरात् surely makes the task of taking out a gem from the midst of the crocodile's fangs all the more perilous.

The epigram intended to uphold the happy contention in verse Forty that in case the worthy poets suffer indigence, it is the ruler of the land that earns opprobium on that count, is marked by considerable variation, in its text. It reads as follows in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* : कुत्स्याः स्युः कुपरीक्षकैर्न मणयो यैरर्घतः पातिताः । The validity of the text is meticulously confirmed by such a diserning redactor as D.D. Kosambi[16]. The maxim is unmistakable in its import. 'The jewels that have been devalued by the ignorant jewellers are not to be consured in any

14. *Bhartṛhari-śataka-trayam (BŚT)* with the oldest commentary of Dhanasāra Gaṇi, Singhi Jain Series, No. 24, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1959, verse 3, p. 3

15. *Śatakatrayādi, op.cit.* p.3

16. *Ibid.*, p. 6

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way', implying thereby that it is the jewellers who have to be condemned on that score. The connotation is perfectly in accord with the spirit of the verse. However, the way Dhanasāra has juggled up with the text and interpreted it, has virtually opened up the Pandora's box. He has substituted अर्घतः for अर्घतः and has sought to explain the expression as follows : मणयो रत्नानि कुपरीक्षकैः कुत्सिताः (कुत्साः) न भवेयुः । यैः कुपरीक्षकैः मूढैरर्घतः पातिताः अर्धमूल्योकृताः ।[17] 'The jewels are not to be consured by the ignoramous jewellers, who have reduced them to half the price'. It seems to imply that since the jewellers had cut their price to half, they have no moral right to condemn them. To him, they (the jewellers) seem to be above board in the exercise. While the replacement of the blemishless अर्घतः by अर्घतः shows the commentator in poor light, his interpretation thereof has made him a laughing stock.

The text of the epigram as read in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* doubtless voices the spirit of the author's contention as set forth in the verse but it seems to spare the guilty jewellers of direct denunciation. It is at best implied in the expression. It was perhaps to put them directly in the dock that some gifted scribes effected changes in the text of the epigram. Thus in P. Gopinath's edition of the *Śatakatrayam,* the foot reads as कुत्स्याः स्युः कुपरीक्षका न मणयो यैरर्घतः पातिताः [18]। 'It is not the jewels but their ignorant evaluators who have foolishly cut down their price, that should be condemned lock, stock and barrel.' The Ramakrishna Math edition of the *Nītiśataka* goes a step ahead in making it all the more explicit : कुत्स्याः स्युः कुपरीक्षका हि मणयो यैरर्घतः पातिताः[19]। Those who trifled with the worth of the priceless gems, deserve outright condemnation. All said and done, it is this text that hits the nail on the head.

The well-known verse from *Nītiśataka:* अज्ञः सुखमाराध्यः सुखतरमाराध्यते विशेषज्ञः । ज्ञानलवदुर्विदग्धं ब्रह्मापि नरं न रञ्जयति ॥[20], appears in a new guise in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa.*

17. *BŚT, op.cit.*, p. 5, Verse 8 and its Commentary

18. Bhartṛhari's Three *Śatakas, Bhartṛhari Śatakatrayam,* ed. P. Gopinath, Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi, Reprint Edition, 2010, p. 15

19. *Nīti-śatakam,* Tr. Swami Videhatmananda, Ramakrishna Math, Nagpur, p. 9

20. Bhartṛhari's Three *Śatakas, op. cit.*, p. 3

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Substituting अवबोध्यः for आराध्यः, अवबोध्यते for आराध्यते and बोधयति for रञ्जयति, this is how the verse stands there :

अज्ञः सुखमवबोध्यः सुखतरमवबोध्यते विशेषज्ञः ।
ज्ञानलवदुर्विदग्धं ब्रह्मापि नरं न बोधयति ॥

Though claimed to be the new readings, the three substitutes have robbed the verse of its grace and have turned it into a pedestrian piece. All the three new variants seem to have been inspired by the scribe's predilection for colloquialism. अज्ञः सुखमवबोध्यः evidently means 'it is easy to make a dullard understand (=see reason), which is but a reflection of the Hindi expression *mūrkh ko samjhānā āsān hai.* So with the other two variants.

Though essentially a collection of Bhartṛhari's known verses spread over the three *śatakas,* the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* preserves some hithertofore unknown readings which, not unoften lead the respective verses to new interpretation with sane connotation.

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MUDRĀS IN SANSKRIT TEXTS

N.P. Unni*

Bharata seems to be the earliest writer to codify the gestures or *Mudrās* in relation to *Nāṭya,* though he may have drawn upon his predecessors from other fields as well. "The language of gesture is perhaps as old as humanity. The spoken language which is the divine gift of man may have come only later, long after the use of gestural language. Even after the inventions of spoken language, the gestural language has never lost its importance. People are never satisfied with expressing their ideas by means of vocal sounds alone. Speech-without gesticulation is always imperfect."[1]

In dance and dramas, the poses of hands are essential and from days of antiquity, various hand poses were made use of to give expression to ideas. The hand poses are discernible in Indian iconography and sculpture and they represent a well developed system. The Indus valley civilization knew the importance of hand gestures. Vedic texts like *Vājasaneyī Samhitā* employ various hand poses in connection with rituals and this practice is still continued in the Tantric system. The priests have to make use of separate poses to invoke the presence of the deity, to install divinity in an idol and to send away the divinity once the ritual is over. In fact Bharata himself uses the word *pūjā* (worship) in his treatise several times particularly in dealing with the construction of the theatre.

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1. Namputiri E. Eswaran, *Bālarāmabharatam-a critique.* P. 155

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In this connection it is observed in the *Bālarāmabharata* that several hand poses are described by Bharata. But many of them are beyond comprehension and are not popularly known in this world. With this remark the author notes[2]

प्रतिभावं हि भरते वर्णिता बहवः कराः
दुरूहा एव भरततन्त्रज्ञानां विशेषतः ॥
तेषां लक्षणलक्ष्यं तु प्रसिद्धं नैव भूतले ।
लोकप्रसिद्धहस्तानां लक्ष्यलक्षणमुच्यते ॥
रसभावश्च करयोर्नेत्रमार्गेण शोभते ।
नेत्रं मनः प्रधानं हि मनोभावस्य कारणम् ॥

With these remarks he quotes a stanza from Ādibharata as follows :

यतो हस्तस्ततो दृष्टिर्यतो दृष्टिस्ततो मनः ।
यतो मनस्ततो भावो यतो भावस्ततो रसः ॥

The stanza attributed to Ādibharata is not found in the present edition.

Mudrās mentioned by Bharata

In the *Nātyaśāstra* as in most of the treatises on dramaturgy *Hastamudrās* are classified into three as *Asaṁyuta* (single), *Saṁyuta* combined and the *Nṛttahasta* (which are also used in *Abhinaya* in practice. Bharata describes 24 *Asamyutahastas*, 113 *Saṁyutahastas* and 29 *Nṛttahastas* altogether forming sixty six hand poses. The whole of ninth chapter is set apart for the description of the *hastas*. Sārṇgadeva shows that the total number of *Hastas* in Bharata is 67 splitting the pose *Alapadmodbana* into two as *Alapadma and Udbaṇa. The author of Bālarāmabharata* is inclined to accept 67 poses[2].

भावरसमूलकाः असंयुतहस्ताश्चत्वारिंशत् संख्याकाः संयुतहस्तास्तु सप्तविंशतिसंख्याकाः । संयुतासंयुतभेदेन सप्तषष्टिसंख्याका अभिनयादिषु प्रसिद्धाः ।

While commenting on *Hastas*, Abhinavagupta has pointed out that those *Hastas* defined by earlier writers like Kohala are to be accepted traditional enumeration of hands should be recognised with equal authority. He states as follows[3].

2. *Bālarāmabharata*, ed. K. Sambasiva Sastri, Trivandrum, 1935, p. 40.
3. NŚ Chapter IX.

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शून्यभास्वरविद्युदाद्यभिनयविषये नृत्ताचार्यप्रवाहसिद्धः कोहललिखितोऽपि हस्तः सङ्गतो भवतीति हस्तान्तराण्युत्प्रेक्ष्याणि । ते त्वसंयुता अपि भवन्ति ।

In offering comments on a stanza of Bharata, Abhinavagupta remarks that it is slightly different from the view of Udbhaṭa. The stanza under reference is:

उत्तानो वर्तुलस्त्र्यश्रः स्थितोऽधोमुख एव च ।
पञ्च प्रकारा हस्तस्य नाट्यनृत्तसमाश्रयाः ॥

The remark of Abhinavagupta is as follows[4]

उत्तानोऽधस्तलस्त्र्यश्रोऽग्रगोऽधोमुख एव च ।
पञ्चप्रकारा हस्तस्येति भट्टोद्भटः पठति ॥

Bharata has also briefly indicated the usages of the hand poses on different situations.[5]

There are other treatises dealing with the poses of hands. Works like *Abhinayadarpaṇa* of Nandikeśvara, *Nāṭyaśāstrasaṅgraha* of anonymous authorship, and *Bharatārṇava* of Nandikeśvara also deal with *Hastamudrās.* These are used to represent a host of ideas like *dampatī* (couple), *mātṛ* (mother), different gods and goddesses, the ten *Avatāras,* the seven oceans, four rivers, seven upper worlds and seven lower worlds, animals, aquatic beings and so on. The total number of poses described in these works differ as also their *viniyogas.*[6]

Some manuals are in vogue in certain regions. The *Mudrās* mentioned in them are prominently made use of in regional theatrical forms like *Kūṭiyāṭṭam, Kathakalī, Yakṣagāna* etc. In conception they almost follow the *Nāṭyaśāstra* though in minor details differences can be noticed. Regional texts have added their own special hand poses. For any object, a hand gesture could be devised on the basis of the form of the object, its characteristic activity or mark or class.

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4. *Op.cit.* p. 40
5. R.S. Nagar II pp.19
6. *Ibid.* p. 51

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Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā on *Mudrās*

There is an interesting work dealing exclusively with the hand gestures. The anonymous Kerala author has dealt with 24 poses of hands which are mainly used in *Kathakali* and *Kūṭiyaṭṭaṃ* performances of Kerala. The work is edited and published from several places.[7] The terminology of the hand poses is almost the same as in Bharata's work, though the definition and application show some originality. The names and definitions are quoted hereunder leaving out the *viniyogas*-the purposes for which they are used.

(1) पताकः

नमितानामिका यस्य पताकस्स करः स्मृतः ।

(2) मुद्रा

अङ्गुष्ठस्य तु तर्जन्या यद्यग्रो मिलितो भवेत् ।
शेषा विश्लथिता यस्य मुद्राख्यस्स करः स्मृतः ॥

(3) कटकः

अङ्गुष्ठाङ्गुलिमूलन्तु संस्पृशेद्यदि मध्यमा ।
मुद्राभिधानहस्तस्तु कटकाख्यां व्रजेत्तदा ॥

(4) मुष्टिः

अङ्गुष्ठस्तर्जनीपार्श्वामाश्रितोऽङ्गुलयः पराः ।
आकुञ्चिताश्च यस्य स्युः स हस्तो मुष्टिसंज्ञकः ॥

(5) कर्तरीमुखः

कनीयस्युन्नता यस्य तिस्रस्युस्सन्नताः पराः ।
अङ्गुष्ठस्तर्जनीपार्श्वे संस्पृशेत् भरतर्षभ ।
कर्तरीमुखमित्याहुः हस्तं तं नृत्तवेदिनः ॥

(6) शुकतुण्डजः

भ्रूलतेव यदा वक्रा तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठसंयुता ।
नमितानामिका शेषे कुञ्चितोदञ्चिते तदा ।
शुकतुण्डकरं प्राहुराचार्या भरतादयः ॥

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7. *Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā* Ed. Tiruvaṅṅāṭṭu Nārāyaṇan Nambisan, Calicut, 1958 also, in *Nāṭyakalpadruma* of Mani Madhava Cakyar, Kottayam, 1975

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(7) कपित्थः

नमितानामिकापृष्ठमङ्गुष्ठो यदि संस्पृशेत् ।
कनिष्ठिका सुनम्रा च यस्मिंस्तु स करः स्मृतः ।
कपित्थाख्यश्च विद्वद्भिर्नृत्तशास्त्रविशारदैः ।

(8) हंसपक्षः

अङ्गुल्यश्च यथापूर्वं संस्थिता यदि यस्य तु ।
स हस्तो हंसपक्षाख्यो भण्यते भरतादिभिः ॥

(9) शिखरः

पुरतो मध्यमां चापि पृष्ठतस्तर्जनीं नयेत् ।
कपित्थहस्तस्तु तदा प्राप्नुयात् शिखराभिधाम् ॥

(10) हंसास्यम्

संगताश्चलदग्रास्युस्तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठमध्यमाः ।
इतरे चोन्नते यत्र हंसास्यं तदुदीरितम् ॥

(11) अञ्जलिः

करशाखास्तु विश्लिष्टा मध्यं हस्ततलस्य तु ।
किञ्चिदाकुञ्चितं यस्य लुटितं सोऽञ्जलिः करः ॥

(12) अर्धचन्द्रः

अङ्गुष्ठं तर्जनी चापि वर्जयित्वेतराः क्रमात् ।
ईषदाकुञ्चिता यत्र सोऽर्धचन्द्रकरः स्मृतः ॥

(13) मुकुरः

मध्यमानामिके नम्रे अङ्गुष्ठोऽपि परस्परम् ।
यद्यारभे तत् स्पर्शाय मुकुरस्स करो मतः ॥

(14) भ्रमरः

नमिता तर्जनी यस्य स हस्तो भ्रमराह्वयः ।

(15) सूचीमुखः

मध्यमानामिका पृष्ठमङ्गुष्ठो यदि संस्पृशेत् ।
कनिष्ठिका कुञ्चिता च सूचीमुखकरः स्मृतः ॥

(16) पल्लवः

मूलं चानामिकाङ्गुष्ठो अङ्गुष्ठो यदि संस्पृशेत् ।
यस्मिंस्तु नृत्तशास्त्रज्ञैः पल्लवः स करः स्मृतः ॥

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(17) त्रिपताकः

अङ्गुष्ठः कुञ्चिताकारः तर्जनीमूलमाश्रितः ।
यदि स्यात् स करः प्रोक्तः त्रिपताको मुनीश्वरैः ।

(18) मृगशीर्षकः

मध्यमानामिकामध्यमङ्गुष्ठो यदि संस्पृशेत् ।
मृगशीर्षकहस्तोयं कलितो मुनिपुङ्गवैः ॥

(19) सर्पशिरः

त्रिपताकस्य मध्यन्तु निम्नं यदि भवेत्तदा ।
हस्तस्सर्पशिरो नाम विषे सर्पे फणे मतः ॥

(20) वर्धमानकः

स्पृशेत् प्रदेशिनीं रेखां तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठमध्यगाम् ।
कुञ्चितोदञ्चितारशेषाः सहस्तो वर्धमानकः ॥

(21) अरालः

तर्जनीमध्यगां रेखां अङ्गुष्ठो यदि संस्पृशेत् ।
कुञ्चितोदञ्चिताश्चान्ये अरालस्स करः स्मृतः ॥

(22) ऊर्णनाभः

ऊर्णनाभवदाकाराः पञ्चाङ्गुल्योऽपि यत्र हि ।
ऊर्णनाभाभिधः प्रोक्तः स हस्तो मुनिपुङ्गवैः ॥

(23) मुकुलः

पञ्चानामङ्गुलीनां च यद्यग्रो मिलितो भवेत् ।
सुष्ठु यत्र तु विज्ञेयो मुकुलाख्यः करो बुधैः ।

(24) कटकामुखः

मध्यमातर्जनीमध्यं अङ्गुष्ठः प्रविशेद्यदि ।
शेषासन्नमिता यत्र स हस्तः कटकामुखः ॥

These twenty four are the basic poses. There are other similar poses and mixed poses described in the work along with their usages. With the help of these limited number of poses the regional actors represent a lot of ideas in their performances.

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Tantric *Mudrās*

Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati of Īśānaśivagurudeva[8] (c. 12th century) deals with several poses to be used in worship and invocation.

In the section called *Mudrādhikāra*, several poses are defined. The poses mentioned are *Kṣobhaṇī, Mohanī, Drāvaṇī, Karṣiṇī, Sānnidhyakarī* and *Yonimudrā*. These are defined as follows:

अन्योन्यसंमुखौ हस्तौ सुश्लिष्टौ मुक्ततर्जनी ।
मध्यमाङ्गुष्ठसंयोगान्मुद्रैषा क्षोभणी स्मृता ॥

श्लिष्टाङ्गुलितलौ हस्तौ प्रसार्याङ्गुष्ठतर्जनी ।
कनिष्ठानामिकामध्यासंश्लेषान्मोहनी भवेत् ॥

तथैव श्लिष्टकरयोः प्रसार्योभयतर्जनी ।
मध्यमाङ्गुष्ठसंयोगपीडनाद् द्रावणी स्मृता ॥

तद्वत् सुश्लिष्टकरयोस्तर्जनीद्वयपीडनात् ।
कर्षिणी स्यात् तथा मध्यातर्जाभ्यां ज्यैष्ठिकाद्वयम् ॥

निपीड्य सान्निध्यकरी स्यात् शिष्टाङ्गुलिविसर्जनात् ।
अनामिके द्वे तर्जाभ्यामधः पार्ष्णोर्निबध्य तु ॥

उत्तानपाणितलयोर्मध्यमे सकनिष्ठिके ।
पार्श्वाभ्यां संहताग्रे ते ऋज्ज्वायतमवस्थिते ॥

कृत्वाङ्गुष्ठाग्रयुग्मेन कनिष्ठामूलयोः स्पृशेत् ।
मुद्रेयं योनिसंज्ञा स्यात् शाक्तेयी सर्वसिद्धिदा ॥

मोहनी क्षोभणी योनिमुद्रा द्रावण्यपि क्रमात् ।
नृपसर्वस्त्रियां वश्ये नराणां च नियोजयेत् ॥

In the last stanza, the *viniyogas*-the usages of the poses are mentioned. The four *Mudrās* are to be used in the cases of kings, women and men. They are capable of attracting these categories.

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8. *Īśānaśivagurudevapadhati* of Īśānaśivagurudeva, ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, Reprinted with elaborate introduction by Dr. N.P. Unni, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan (in 4 vols) Delhi, 1988, vol. II. p. 73

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This occurs in the twenty first *Paṭala* of the *Mantrapāda* which is designated as *Śaktipaṭala*. In the seventh *paṭala* of *Kriyāpāda* called *Mudrādhikāra* there are two sections called *Daśamudrādhikāra* to which five more *Mudrās* are appended. The section begins with six *Mudrās* pertaining to Sūrya follows.

वक्ष्ये मुद्राः शैवतन्त्रप्रसिद्धा याभिः पूजाकर्मसिद्धिः प्रदिष्टा ।
सूर्यस्यादौ षड्भिशेषेण पश्चात् शम्भोर्मुख्याः स्युर्दशान्याश्च वेद्याः ॥

First the author proposes to enunciate six *Mudrās* to be used in the worship of Sūrya and thereafter ten more which are related to Śiva. The *Mudrās* pertaining to Sūrya are: (1) *Padmā*, (2) *Bimba*, (3) *Nisṭhurā*, (4) *Govṛṣā*, (5) *Dhenu* and (6) *Trāsanī*. These are defined as follows.[9]

पद्माकारावाभिमुख्येन पाणी मध्येऽङ्गुष्ठौ शायितौ कर्णिकावत् ।
पद्माख्येयं सैव संलग्नमध्या सृष्टाङ्गुष्ठा बिम्बसंज्ञा तु मुद्रा ॥

प्राग्वत् पाण्योर्लग्नयोरङ्गुलीनामग्रेऽङ्गुष्ठोच्चालनान्निष्ठुरा स्यात् ।
बद्ध्वा मुष्टिं दक्षिणामास्फुरन्त्यौ मुक्त्वा तर्जामध्यमे गोवृषाख्या ॥

अन्योन्यग्रथितसमाङ्गुलीकपाण्योस्तर्जाग्रद्वयसमवेतमध्यमाग्रे ।
व्यत्यस्तेऽप्यथ तदनामिकाकनिष्ठायुक्ताग्रे भवति हि धेनुसंज्ञमुद्रा ॥

बद्ध्वा दक्षिणहस्तेन मुष्टिमुत्सृष्टतर्जनीम् ।
तत्तर्जन्या वामतलताडनात् त्रासनी भवेत् ।

इति मुद्राषट्कं सूर्यस्य ।

Now the author proceeds to enumerate ten more *Mudrās* which are to be used in the worship of Śambhu (Śiva) as follows (1) *Mahāmudrā*, (2) *Āvāhani*, (3) *Sthāpanī*, (4) *Sannidhāpanī*, (5) *Nisṭhurā*, (6) *Vandanī*, (7) *Kālakarṇī*. (8) *Veṣṭitaliṅga*, (9) *Dhenu*, and (10) *Pañcamukhī*. These are respectively defined in the following lines.[10]

प्रसारिताधोमुख्याभ्यां हस्ताभ्यां संस्पृशेत् तनुम् ।
पादावारभ्य मूर्धान्तं महामुद्रेयमीरिता ॥

उत्तानपाण्योर्विहिताञ्जलौ तज्ज्येष्ठाग्रयुग्मेन पृथङ्निकुञ्च्य ।
स्पृष्ट्वा तथानामिकयोस्तु मूलं मुद्रेयमावाहनसंज्ञिता स्यात् ॥

9. *Ibid*. Vol III. p. 72

10. *Ibid*

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इयमावाहन्येवाधोमुखी स्थापनी ।
संलग्नमुष्ट्योः करयोः स्थितोर्ध्वज्येष्ठायुगं यत्र समुन्नताग्रम् ।
सा सन्निधापन्यथ सैव गर्भाङ्गुष्ठा भवेच्चेदिह निष्ठुराख्या ॥

बद्धवाञ्जलिं पङ्कजकोशकल्पं यद्दक्षिणज्येष्ठिकया तु वामाम् ।
ज्येष्ठां समाक्रम्य तु वन्दनीयं मुद्रा नमस्कारविधौ प्रयोज्या ॥

बद्धमुष्ट्योस्तु संलग्नसम्मुखाङ्गुष्ठहस्तयोः ।
कालकर्णी भवेच्छैवी मु(द्रा चा) त्रापराः स्मृताः

अधोमुखं दक्षिणहस्तमुष्टौ ज्येष्ठा तु वामा निहताथ मुष्टेः ।
वामस्य मध्यात् प्रसृतापसव्यज्येष्ठापरा वेष्टितलिङ्गमुद्रा ॥

पूर्वोदितैव धेनुमुद्रा ।

तिरश्चीने कनिष्ठाद्रे त्वङ्गुष्ठाभ्यां समास्थिते ।

देशिनी मध्यमे रुन्ध्यादनामे द्वे समुन्नते ।
संयुक्ताग्रे च ते कृत्वा मुद्रा पञ्चमुखी भवेत् ॥

इति दशमुद्राधिकारः ।

Thus sixteen *Mudrās* have been enumerated and defined. Of these six belong to the rites connected with Sūrya while the next ten is to worship Śiva. Then there are five more *Mudrās* of a general nature. They are (1) *Śakti*, (2) *Śūla*, (3) *Dravya*, (4) *Samhāriṇī* and (5) *Kṣamāpanī*. These are defined in the following lines:[11]

आकुञ्च्याथ कनिष्ठाग्रमाक्रम्याङ्गुष्ठमध्यतः ।
ऋज्वायतास्तु शेषाः स्युरङ्गुल्यः शक्तिसंज्ञिता ॥

इयमेव हि शक्त्याख्या विरलोर्ध्वाङ्गुलित्रया ।
यदि स्यात् त्रिशिखाकारा शूलमुद्रेति कथ्यते ॥

बद्धवाञ्जलिं तु हस्ताभ्यां निगृह्यानामिकाद्वयम् ।
शेषाङ्गुलीः प्रसार्येयं द्रव्यमुद्रा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

11. *Ibid*, p.73

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प्रसार्य दक्षिणं हस्तं कनिष्ठाद्यखिलाङ्गुलीः ।
क्रमादाकुञ्चयेद् शीघ्रं मुद्रा संहारिणी मता ॥

मिथः पृष्ठार्पितौ हस्तावन्योन्यग्रथिताङ्गुली ।
कृत्वा बद्धवा परावर्त्य नत्वा सा स्यात् क्षमापनी ॥

These are the poses of hands used in worship. With the help of these gods are invoked and divinity installed. This is referred to in the following lines.[12]

आवाहनाङ्गभूतानि स्थापनं सन्निधापनम् ।
सन्निरोधमृतीकारावकुण्ठनमेव च ॥
तन्महामुद्रया कार्यं यतस्तद्धि प्ररोचनम् ॥

In order to facilitate the worship of deity these *Mudrās* are made use of to invoke his presence, continuous stay at the spot till the worship is over and so on.[13]

Poses Mentioned in *Viṣṇusamhitā*

The seventh *Paṭala* of *Viṣṇusamhitā* of anonymous authorship (before 11th century AD) treats of several *Mudrās* used in the worship of deities. The ideas of the section may be given as follows:[14]

Now I shall discuss the various poses of hands used in *Nyāsas* and other ritualistic purposes. The pose called *Añjali* is the foremost and capable of pleasing gods easily. *Vandanī* is the one placed at the chest with a slight bend of the hand on the right. *Vāmamuṣṭi* is the one where the thumb is held upwards. There are three general poses for deities.

Assuming a *Padmāsana* according to *Yoga*, an *Añjali* hand should be placed above the head to form the *Mudrā* called *Brahmāñjali* which will ensure the

12. *Ibid.* p. 48

13. Ed. T. Ganapati Sastri, Reprinted by N.P. Unni, Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1990, 1-58 stanzas

14. N. P. Unni, Introduction, pp. 33-36

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presence of god. In the pose called *Āvāhanī*, the fingers should be bent inwards and the thumbs should touch the middle of the palm. In the pose called *Sānnidhya*, the fingers of both hands should be bent inwards and thumbs upwards. When both the thumbs are bent inwards the pose is called *Nirodhinī*. *Yonimudrā* is pleasing to god Viṣṇu and it should be shown while sitting in *Padmāsana*. For this the left hand should be held to the chest and the outstretched thumb of the one hand should be touched by the other hand. There is a pose called *Koṭimudrā* using both the palms outstretched and revolving them touching each other with fingers. The pose to touch the heart is to be shown by placing the thumb in between the ring finger and middle finger. In the pose to touch the forehead the thumb should be held close to the index finger. The pose to show the *Śikhā* is to close the fingers together holding the thumb upwards. For touching the shoulder in the *Nyāsa* called *Kavaca* the thumbs of the respective hands should be held, between the fingers. For the pose called *Astra* the tip of the fingers should be bent and the palms to be placed in between the brows. A similar pose held downwards is called *Netramudrā*. In meditation the pose called *Yogasampuṭa* is assumed holding thumbs at level with each other and holding the hands together. For ceremonial bathing of the god called *Abhiṣeka, the* pose to be assumed is called *Pāvani* allowing a little hole in a closed fist. In the *Padmamudrā,* the hands are revolved at the wrist one after another, it is called *Cakramūdra* which ensures prosperity. The pose called *Gadā* destroys impediments. For this, both the thumbs should be bent with fingers are held as a fist. *The Śaṅkha* pose is purported to install things. In this the right thumb is placed in the fist of the left hand and one thumb and the index finger are held at level in an outstretched manner. To show the bow and the arrow, appropriate poses are prescribed. To show *Garuḍamudrā* and other *Vāhanas,* the middle and ring finger should be moved about emulating the wings of a bird. The pose of *Prārthanā* is held by closing together the flat palms of the hands with extended fingers. *Śrivatsa* and *Kaustubha* are shown by poses held to the chest. In order to show *Saktīs* or powers of the deities, the *Yonimudrā* is to be assumed with slight changes. *Dhvajamudrā* intended to show flagstaff, involves the movements of fingers. Similar poses are prescribed for *Vaināyakī* (for Gaṇapati), *liṅga* for Śiva and one for *Viṣvakṣeṇa* on the occasion of the renovation of temples.

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The word '*Mudrā*' is derived as that which causes '*mudā*' or happiness to the gods and 'drāvayanti' drives away the demons,

मुदं कुर्वन्ति देवानां राक्षसान् द्रावयन्ति च ।
इत्येवं सर्वमुद्राणां मुद्रात्वं तान्त्रिका विदुः ॥

It is said that there is no end for the number of *Mudrās*, since the gods are many and the purposes are different. In the absence of a particular *Mudrā* one may assume *Añjali* which is a general pose that can be used on all occasions.

The difference between these Tantric *Mudrās* and the ones used in dramas is that the first type is to be shown strictly in privacy for a definite purpose. These are not for the sake of exhibition. The poses in *Tantra* are of four kinds as *Sāmānya* (general), *Viśeṣa* (particular) *Aṅga* (partial) and *Parivāra* (overall). There is another pose called *Mālāmudrā* in which a series of movements of the fingers are involved.

The similarity between the poses used in dance and drama and those in the *Āgama* tradition is inescapable because in both cases one has to make use of the fingers.

Tantrasamuccaya* on *Mudrās

The *Tantrasamuccaya* of Cennās Narayanan Nampūtiripād (c. 1428 AD) is the most popular Tantric treatise of Kerala. The author has borrowed many ideas from *Viṣṇusamhitā* mentioned above. Some of the *Mudrās* named and defined in the work forms a practical manual for priests in Kerala. The following are the *Mudrās* enumerated in *Samuccaya: Añjali, Brahmāñjali, Vandanī, Ūrdhvā, Śivaliṅga, Yoni, Vaināyakī, Hṛdaya, Śikhā, Kavaca, Netra, Astra, Gāruḍi, Gālini, Dhenu, Abhivahani, Sthāpanikā, Sannirodhini, Prasādanī, Samsthapanī, Cakra, Saṅkha, Gadā, Padma, Hariṇa, Varadā, Varadāna, Kapāla, Dhanuṣ, Śara, Vajra, Śakti, Grāsa, Praṇādi, Upahāra, Nivedya* and *Bali.*

These are enumerated in connection with the rituals in Kerala temples. Actually priests were given training to assume these poses as in the case of the actors of drama.

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Conclusion

The Āgamic tradition and the tradition of histrionics have many common features. These *Mudrās* are unlimited in conception. In their *Viniyogas* - purposes to which they are employed - also there is vast scope. For instance in the *Bālarāmabharata*, the first pose named *Patākā*å is enumerated as having manifold usages. Bharata himself has stated that one may conceive different poses based on certain guidelines. He observes.

आकृत्या चेष्टया चिह्नैर्जात्या विज्ञाय वस्तुतः ।
स्वयं वितर्क्य कर्तव्यं हस्ताभिनयनं बुधैः ॥

नास्ति कश्चिदहस्तस्तु नाट्येऽर्थोऽभिनयं प्रति ।
यस्य यद् दृश्यते रूपं बहुशस्तन्मयोदितम् ॥

अन्ये चाप्यर्थसंयुक्ता लौकिका ये करास्त्विह ।
च्छन्दतस्ते प्रयोक्तव्या रसभावविचेष्टितैः ॥

In these words Bharata has given a blanket permission to assume different poses in order to suggest different ideas. There is nothing that cannot be shown by the poses of hand, as he rightly puts it.

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सौंदर्यलहरी

(शंकराचार्यविरचिता)

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DHARMAŚĀSTRAS IN SOCIO-LEGAL PERSPECTIVES*

Brajakishore Swain•

Writers on *Dharmaśāstras* in Socio-legal perspective, distinguishing between 'law' and *dharma* claim that the *dharmaśāstras* contain no 'laws' as understood in contemporary legal philosophy. Rocher[1] has, for instance, argued that 'in ancient India there was not such a seperate concept as law' which he describes as 'a prescription passed by the legislature'. He added that 'what is called law now a days was merely a very small portion of the much more comprehensive doctrine of *dharma*'. Rocher, however, explains the use of the expression law with reference to *dharmaśāstra*, saying that it simply means that certain sections of *dharmaśāstra* correspond to the rules of conduct which in modern democracies are passed by the legislative assemblies[2]. Thus, according to Rocher, though some contents of *dharmaśāstra* correspond with modern laws yet the two are different because their sanctioning authorities are different. U.C. Sarkar distinguishes between 'Hindu law' and the strict conception of the positive law on the basis of the conception of the society as governed by the Hindu religion and based on the *varṇa* and *āśrama* theory. He says that positive law is the fruit of political organisation where as Hindu law was the result of social organisation.

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1. Rocher, Ludo, 'Ancient Hindu Criminal Law', *Journal of Oriental Research,* XXIV, 1954-55, pp. 15-34.
2. *Ibid.*

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In ancient India originally the society was the organisational unit rather than the state. There was no doubt the kin but he was subordinate to the *brāhmaṇa* who was supposed to be the head of the society. Therefore, distinction is made between moral, religious and social laws on the one hand and state enforced laws on the other and it is argued that Hindu law falls in the category of moral, social or religious laws[3]. One may also cite the opinion of P.N.Sen, who said, 'according to the Hindu ideas *dharma* or sacred law contains its authority within itself; the king is not superior to it, but like other human beings, is subject to it. Within the sphere of sacred law, the king has his own function which is partly general and partly special in its character; it is general in so far as, unlike other individuals, it is his duty to enforce its obedience in others to a certain extent. The law is supreme; the will of the king is not its originator and its sanction is not derived from any extrinsic or accidental agency; for it contains its sanction within itself'[4].

It has also been argued that the texts which are believed to be 'legal' are indeed not so and were never intended to be so. Sir Henry Maine said of the *smṛti* ascribed to Manu that it was in great part an ideal picture that which, in the view of the *brāhmaṇas* ought to be the law[5]. In other words it is not law as such but is wrongly believed to contain law.

The question of the exact nature of the *dharmaśāstra* texts came in for a close scrutiny in the latter half of the eighteenth century when the then British government in India sought to apply Hindu law to their Hindu subjects and their judges soon realized that the texts cited by the *pandits* were not actually followed or recognised as authentic or even at all known to the people on whom they were sought to be applied. H. Nelson[6], a district judge in Madras, very forcefully argued against the authority of the *smṛtis* and digests which

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3. Sarkar, U.C., *Epoch of Hindu Legal History* (Introduction), p.3.
4. Sen, P.N., *General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence*, p.26.
5. Iyer. P., *Hindu Law - A Treatise*, p. 31.
   Derrett, JDM., *Religion, Law and State* in India, p.80.
6. Lingat Robert, *Classical Law of India*, p. 139.

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were cited by the *pandits* in the courts authentic legal texts to be uniformly applied to all Hindus or at least to ones residing in the territories in which those texts were alleged to possess overriding authority. He thought that the European sanskritists had erred in treating them as codes of law. He went to the extent of emphasising the need to execute and bury the phantom of artificial law created by 'sanskrtists without law' and 'laywers without sanskrit'. Lingat does not accept such a harsh criticism of the text but concludes nevertheless that the Hindu concept of law is inherently different from what prevails in Europe. In modern legal thought, law emanates from an organ of the state having legislative power but he says that the rules that determined Hindu social conduct 'drew their validity from custom and an adjudicator had to choose a relevant rule from the several ascribed to ancient *ṛṣis*'[7].

Indians prompted by a nationalist passion sought to defend *dharmaśāstras.* Iyer challenged the very concept of law as given by Austin and said that there would hardly be any state whether past or present which would fully satisfy Austin's theory[8]. However when he began to explain the nature of Hindu law, he said that it was more of customary law recognized by authors of the codes and that the kings firmly believed that they had no power to alter it;[9] yet he went on to argue that officers of the courts enforced the sacred codes with the consent either tacit or express of the kings[10].

This kind of a confused analysis stems from the two mutually exclusive features which characterise law as such. Law has to be both fixed and flexible. It has to be firm or else it cannot guarantee any stability to the society and thus fulfill an important role it is expected to play in the human society. On the other hand it has perforce to keep abreast of all changes which continue to take place in the society. It cannot refuse to take cognizance of the dynamism of the human race. In the field of Hindu law *śruti* and *smṛti* have lent the

7. *Ibid.* pp. 257-58.

8. Iyer, P., *op.cit.*, p. 9

9. *Ibid,* p. 22.

10. *Ibid,* p. 23.

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required stability to law. They are treated as the fundamental law against which the validity of all laws are to be tested. The *dharmaśāstrats* have, at the same time, recoginsed the principle of dynamism in law by accepting new *smṛtis* to deal with new situations. By recognising the authority of *sadācāra* the *dharmaśāstra* tradition has allowed fullest freedom to people to live their lives according to their own sense of right. The state has been assigned a very significant role in the administration of justice in Hindu law. The king is represented as a divine incarnation to punish the guilty and to protect the weak[11]. Though the early *smṛti* tradition does not recognise him as the fountainhead of law, the *arthaśāstra* tradition certainly recoginses king's commands as a source of law which supersedes all other laws[12]. *Smṛti* texts are deeply influenced by the principles of *arthaśāstra* and at several points recognise that the command of the sovereign is the law. Of course, *śruti* and *smṛti* continue to provide the stable basis in which the structure of laws is erected. All social institutions share this tendency of moving ahead and yet claiming to be firmly fixed in their roots because that fills them with a sense of security.

The concept of law in India has undergone several changes in the long history of the evolution of Hindu law from the early vedic times to the present. The nature of law in a given society is closely linked with the nature of the state, i.e., with the scope and the reach of the political authority as asserted by the one in whom it vests and as accepted by the people. The balance between the two forces i.e. the people and the political authority is influenced by several factors including religion. Hinduism, however, has never, except in small sects, had any organised church or papacy to act as the final arbiter of righteous conduct. Inspite of the claims that *śruti* or the *smṛti* is the ground norm of *dharma* or that the conduct of the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Brahmadeśa* is the ideal to be followed by all. Hindu law has allowed different groups and regions to develop their own *dharmas*.

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11. *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 5-8

12. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra*. III. 1.38-39

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Śruti was gradually replaced by *smṛtis*, and earlier *smṛtis* paved the way for the emergence of new *smṛtis*. Then came the commentators and authors of digests who have crafted new laws out of the old *smṛti* rules. All historical examples from the period for which written records of history are available show the supremacy of the political authority. There is not one example of a king who allowed his power to be curtailed by the clergy or of any open clash between the king and the clergy. Rulers in different regions and periods have felt free to act according to their own political judgement. That is why *rāja-śāsana* has been accepted to be an all overriding source of *vyavahāra* i.e. law. Indian rulers did not owe their political survival to any spiritual authority.

An attempt is made here to show that in a certain period the *dharmaśāstra* came under the influence of the *arthaśāstra* which accorded all surpassing superiority to the state over all other forms of social organisation; that state structure was strong and all political authority, including the power to determine the conduct of the people at the pain of punishment was sought to be reserved in the hands of the rulers and their agents and nominees. It is also shown that Hindu kings felt free from political and religious constraints that might have inhibited their functioning at some early age, if at all and law developed as the will of the political sovereign, enforced by the apparatus of the state and its reach became wide enough to convert several religious, moral and social laws into positive laws if not to entirely outplace them.

The growth of law in India may be linked to the evolution of disciplines poetics, etymology. prosody, etc. Early speculations on these started in the *saṁhitās* and the *brāhmaṇas* as part of the vedic ritual and they gained strength as auxiliaries to the Vedas. Soon, however these sciences freed themselves from sacerdotal concerns and came to be established as independent subjects of human enquiry, paying only lip service to the authority of the Vedas. The same may be said to be true of law which was an appendage to sacred literature only in the period of the *sūtras*. Even earlier than the earliest of the known metrical *smṛtis*, the *arthaśāstra* tradition recognised that politics and administration were outside the domain of the sacred. Among the extant *smṛtis* the one ascribed to Manu is the earliest and its sections on law and polity seem

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to be heavily influenced by the *arthaśāstra*[13]. The *smṛtis* of Nārada, Bṛhaspati and Kātyāyana clearly recognise law as distinct from the other branches of *dharma* and therefore they deal exclusively with the law as such.

Mention may be made here that *Vyavahāra* as a category is distinct from *dharma*. Medhātithi who stands at the threshold of the period brings out the distinction between *dharma* and *rājadharma* of which *Vyavahāra* is a part. He says that while *dharma* as such draws its validity exclusively from the Vedas, *rājadharma* seeks validity from other sources as well *pramāṇantaramūlāhyatra dharmā ucyante na sarve vedamulāḥ*. In his gloss on MS VIII.3 he argues that in fact the rules of *Vyavahāra* are not derived from the Vedas because (i) means of victory and defeat in *Vyavahāra* are accomplished facts and (ii) are known through direct perception[14].

To appreciate this argument one must note that according to the *Mīmāṁsā* school, which the *dharmaśāstra* tradition follows in certain section, *dharma* is defined as what has to be accomplished through the means prescribed by the Vedas. Vedic injunctions prescribe rituals like *agniṣṭoma*, etc. and the detailed procedures to perform them. By accurately following the instructions one can obtain the fruits which those rituals are believed to yield. However the rituals, their procedures and the fruits, etc. can all be known only from the Vedas and not through any ordinary means of knowledge. On the other hand the process of *Vyavahāra* is based on our practical experiences. It is held that while *dharma* leads to unseen fruits to be enjoyed in after life, the fruits of *Vyavahāra* i.e. success and defeat are to be obtained and enjoyed in this very life (*iha loka*). The essential conclusion is drawn from this discussion is that the rules of *Vyavahāra* serve a practical purpose and derive their validity from the purpose they are designed to serve and they must therefore be so interpreted as to

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13. Derrett, JDM., 'A Newly Found Contact Between *Arthaśāstra* and *Dharmaśāstra* - The Role of Bhāruci' in *Essays-I*. p.120 ff.

14. Medhātithi on *Manusmṛti*. VIII.3.

न हि व्यवहारस्मृतिर्वेदमूला इति शक्यते वक्तुम्, सिद्धान्तरूपत्वात् प्रत्यक्षाद्यवगम्यत्वात् जयपराजयकारणानाम् ।

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further those objectives and not in the sense that they lead to *svarga* or any spiritual benefit. On the other hand rules of *dharma* in *dharmaśāstra* itself are to be so interpreted that they lead only spiritual merit and an interpretation which prescribes a wordly objective to them *ipso facto* invalid. For instance all rituals have a determined sequence of sub rituals and the only justification for that sequence is that the Vedas have prescribed it or that it alone leads to spiritual merit and that any transgression vitiates the whole ritual. However a rule in the *Vyavahāra* section of the YS prescribing the sequence of clauses in a deed has been interpreted differently. The rule is that the deed writer must write at the end of the document the following clause I.....s/o.....have settled the above at the request of both the parties[15]. The commentator himself raises the question whether the deed would get vitiated if this clause were placed not at the end but in the beginning of the document. He himself supplies the answer that this being a rule of *Vyavahāra* (as distinct from *dharma*) its practical utility must first be enquired into. It is suggested that the purpose of mentioning the identity of the writer is to enable the parties or courts to call the writer as a witness in case of any dispute arising out of that deed. Now if this purpose is well served, then the sequence of the clause is not relevant and therefore the deed shall not become invalid only on the ground that the said clause is not placed at the end but in the beginning or the middle[16]. Had this been a rule of *dharma* its placement at any place other than what is prescribed would have vitiated the act.

From this it appears that according the task of administering justice was a secular or rather a political act. In his gloss on MS VIII.I Medhātithi gives three reasons why a king should administer justice: (i) to prevent the collapse of the state due to the *adṛṣṭa* generated by the evil deeds of the subjects (ii) to raise resources for the state through fines; and (iii) to balance the political interest of

15. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti,* II. 88, उभयाभ्यर्थितेनैतन्मया ह्यमुकसूनुना लिखितं ह्यमुकेनेति लेखकोऽन्ते ततो लिखेत् ॥

16. Medhātithi on Manu.VIII. 3.

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the ruler[17]. The last point is illustrated in his comments on Manu's prescription that the *brāhmaṇas* who accompany the king to the court must be well versed in '*mantra*' or advice[18] i.e., one might conjecture, capable of giving correct advice according to *dharma*. But Medhātithi's explanation is startling. He says that the expression *mantrajña* (well versed in advice) signifies that the *brāhmaṇas* should be well versed in secret political advice. Illustrating how the *prāḍvivāka* and other judicial officers should act, he says that if a protege of a powerful minister is brought before their court and they feel he is likely to be convicted, then they should adjourn the hearing on some pretext and secretly inform the king. The king should then call the concerned minister and ask him to prevail upon his protege to compromise. This would save the king from annoying a powerful minister and at the same time save him from the charge of being partial if he were to let the person go unpunished[19]. This is the kind of dirty game the *mantrajña brāhmaṇas* are asked to play. This shows that for Medhātithi 'justice' was not a great virtue but only a tool in the hands of the political masters to perpetuate their authority. This also shows that the authors saw law as a human institution liable to be used and misused. Medhātithi is very clear about the end objective of law which in his view is not *svarga* or spiritual merit but 'removal of temporal miseries' and 'stability of the rule'.

It is significant that all the texts of *Dharmaśāstra* are separate treatises on *Vivāda* or *Vyavahāra*. Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru*, Devaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Smṛticandrikā* are comprehensive treaties on several aspects of *dharma* but have separate volumes on *rājadharma* and *Vyavahāra*. Caṇḍeśvara has composed a series of works on different aspects of *dharma* and has two seperate volumes on *Vyavahāra* and *Vivāda*. Mādhava's work is purportedly a commentary on the *smṛti* ascribed to Parāśara but it is interesting to note that the original *Parāśara Smṛti* does not have any section on *Vyavahāra* and yet Mādhava has appended a very lengthy section in legal matters. Varadarāja's *Vyavahāra-nirṇaya* is an independent work on subjective and adjective law. The *Dāyabhāga*

17. Medhātithi on *Manusmṛti*, VIII. 1.

18. *Manusmṛti*. VIII.1.

19. Medhātithi on *Manusmṛti*. VIII.1.

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of Jimūtavāhana is a text of even greater importance as it shows that the subject matter of law had become so wide and complicated that the need was felt for writing exclusive treatises on specific aspects of law. From this classification and specialisation one may infer that *Vyavahāra* had come to acquire an independent status and that the scholars accepted Medhātithi's distinction between *dharma* and *Vyavahāra*.

Some authors went to the extent of inventing a very ingenious device to confer inherent validity upon the sovereign's commands as sources of law. Varadarāja[20] and Devaṇa have both ascribed a rule to Kātyāyana to the effect that there is a presumption in law that all commands of the sovereign are inherently in accordance with the *śruti*. By making this presumption all challenge to the sovereign's command disappears and it becomes an unchallengable source of law like the *śruti*.[21] This fiction is like the one regarding the validity of *smṛtis* which are said to derive validity from the *śruti*. Where a *smṛti* rule cannot be traced to a *śruti*, it is presumed that it is based on a *śruti* rule contained in a vedic *śākhā* which has now disappeared. Varadarāja citing Kātyāyana, further says that whoever does not follow the king's command must be condemned and put to death.[22] Thus both temporal and spiritual authority is conferred upon the king's command as a source of law.

Texts of the *Dharmaśāstras* recognise the right of a king to amend and repeal the laws made by his predecessors. In the quickly changing political scenario, with rulers and dynasties rising and falling in quick succession, this rule gave to each king the right to make his own laws *rājā kālasya kāraṇam*. This also shows that the texts saw law as a human institution and as the will of the sovereign. The relevant rule ascribed to Nārada, Kātyāyana and Yama allows a king to revise all acts of earlier kings done out of ignorance[23]. This

20. *Vivādanirṇaya*. p. 332.

21. *Smṛticandrikā* II. p.525 Kātyāyana quoted अविरोधेन धर्मस्य निर्गतं राजशासनम् । तस्यैवाचरणं पूर्वं कर्तव्यं च नृपाज्ञया ॥

22. *Ibid*. राजप्रवर्तितान्यो नरो नानुपालयेत् / गर्ह्यः स दण्ड्यो वध्यश्च गर्हणं राजशासनम् ॥

23. *Kṛtyakalpataru-Vyavahārakāṇḍa*. P. II. न्यायापेतं यदन्येन राज्ञां ज्ञानकृतं भवेत् / तदप्याम्नायविहिते पुनर्न्याये निवेशयेत् ॥

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gave to each ruler the power to make new laws and do away with the earlier ones if he so desired. The kings may have exercised this right in consultation with his *brāhmaṇa* advisors, yet it is important to note that the right to change laws is given to the political master and not to the clergy. The kings are also given the power not to enforce law or to withdraw it, if already in force, if it was against the *śruti* or the *smṛti* or against the interest of the people[24]. Thus the king is vested with the authority to decide the actual import of the sacred texts and to determine what is in accordance with them and also to declare what it is in peoples' interest.

From the distribution of judical powers among the sovereign and his feudal subordinates[25] it is inferred that firstly, it was a political arrangement with the politically superior ruler getting greater judicial autonomy and secondly that rulers at different levels of hierarchy were keen to exercise judicial authority over their subjects and the power to intervene in peoples' disputes and to punish them for deviant behaviour an important index of a ruler's autonomy. The greater the power to punish and pardon, the higher the ruler's place in the hierarchy. Here the view of Prajapati is that the local subordinates of the kings should also administer justice like the sovereign[26]. It is submitted that the critics of the socio-legal system often fail to appreciate that the power to wield the baton and to determine peoples' conduct is the *sine qua non* of political authority and on ruler worth the name would willingly surrender it even partially to individuals and forums outside his effective control. Lingat has remarked about the mutual relation between *dharma* and law that though Hindu law fell more within the domain of religion, yet if *dharma* is indeed a personal law which attaches to man to the extent that he can call himself a Hindu, the Hindu as an individual is also the subject of a ruler to whom he owes obedience and who possesses the means to compel obedience. The authority of the written law is thus historically counter balanced by that of the prince. The law actually in force, at least for a specific period and in a limited territory is really the

24. श्रुति-स्मृति-विरुद्धं च भूतानामहितं च यत् । न तत्प्रवर्तयेद्राजा प्रवृत्तं चेन्निवारयेत् ॥

25. Swain, B.K., *The Voice of Verdict*, Ch. III. pp. 42-51

26. Prajāpati quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*. I. p. 35. एवं क्षत्रियसामन्ताः स्वदेशेषु पृथक् पृथक् ।

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offspring to the solution to this new conflict between the two sources of authority[27].

Nibandhakāras assert the king's authority to administer Justice more emphatically and simultaneously try to deny or at least abridge the role of the *brāhmaṇa* advisors in the administration of justice. Commenting on the meaning of the third case in the expression '*brāhamaṇaiḥ*' in YS. II. 1 Vijñāneśvara says that it denotes that the *brāhmaṇa* advisor's role in the administration of justice is only secondary (*apradhāna*). He may advise the king but the authority to impart justice vests only with the king[28]. Here it is to be noted that only the king is empowered to impose fines or corporeal punishment; *prāḍvivāka* and others assist him and may even award *vāk-daṇḍa* or *dhik-daṇḍa* i.e., admonition but the right to hear and settle disputes as such is available only to the king[29]. It is further observed that the *prāḍvivāka* and other officials are paid servants of the king and administer justice in that capacity whereas the king has an inherent authority to hear and settle disputes[30]. And again that though a *brāhmaṇa* is said to be competent to hear disputes, this rule implies that he can do so only when authorised by the king *(rāja-niyogāt)*[31].

Nibandhakāras also sought to restrict the powers of non-formal forums like families, village bodies and trader's guilds to administer justice. It has been specifically laid down that only those who are authorised by the king can administer Justice[32], that only such rules of customary law as are recognised

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27. Lingat, Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

28. *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.II.1, ब्राह्मणैः सह इति तृतीयानिर्देशादेषामप्राधान्यं सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने (पाणिनि २.३.१९) स्मरणात् ।

29. Devaṇa's view on Bṛhaspati quoted in *Smṛticandrikā*. II, pp. 45-46. वक्ताऽध्यक्षो नृपश्शास्ता इत्यर्थवादो दण्डाधिकारित्वाभिप्रायेण ॥

30. *Smṛticandrikā*. I. 33. प्राड्विवकादीनामर्थार्थितया ऋत्विग्वत्सहायमात्रं नाधिकारः, अस्वीकारः, व्यवहारदर्शने राज्ञ एवेति मन्तव्यम् ॥

31. *Smṛticandrikā*. I. p.35. यत्पुनस्तेन ब्राह्मणो वा बहुश्रुतः प्राड्विवाको राजनियोगात् पश्येदिति एवं परं संबन्धः ॥

32. *Bṛhaspatismṛti* in *Parāśaramādhavīya*. p.25. राज्ञा ये विदित्वा सम्यक् कुलश्रेणीगणादयः । साहस-न्यायवर्ज्याणि कुर्युः कार्याणीति नृणाम् ॥

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by the king can be enforced[33]; that all social organisations have to work under the overall supervision of the king[34] and that the king has the power to abrogate customary law. The last assertion made here needs to be further strengthened. Mādhava has remarked that the king may by an order prohobit people from following any custom. Nārada, following the *Arthaśāstra* laid down that there were four grounds of decision in litigation namely *dharma, Vyavahara, caritra* and *rājaśāsana*[35]

Asahāya says that the Vyavahāra rules proclaimed by the king have an overriding authority over all other grounds and Mādhava also remarks that even if there be a settled custom, the king may prohibit it with his proclamation. Devaṇa gives an illustration of a custom the kind of which may be prohibited by the king; referring to the custom of an unidentified group he says that forcing widows into prostitution can be outlawed by the king even if it were a well established custom of a community.

Nibandhakāras admit that there can be many more titles of dispute than the traditional eighteen. Medhātithi, said while commenting on the expression '*bhuyiṣṭham*' (profuse or profusely) in M.S. VIII 8, that this indicated that these were the principal titles of dispute and that there could be many more. He gave two illustrations of the new titles (i) where a house owner gives his house to a person to live in for one year but asks him to vacate it before the expiry of the period the lessee can raise a dispute; (ii) a person can raise a dispute if a neighbour opens a window facing the former's plot of land thus encroaching upon his privacy. Vijñāneśvara also states that the eighteen had become manifold due to the different purposes they were expected to serve. Govindarāja also indicates that there were many more types of disputes. However it is surprising that many authors have not mentioned any new titles with any details. It may be said in their defence that the so called new titles could be

33. *Katyāyanasmṛti* in *Smṛticandrikā*. II. p. 57. देशस्यानुमतेनैव व्यवस्था या निरूपिता । लिखिता तु सदा धार्या मुद्रिता राजमुद्रया ॥

34. Swain, B.K., *op.cit.*, Ch.III, XI.

35. *Nāradasmṛti* I.10. धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् । चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोऽयमुत्तरः पूर्वबाधकः ॥

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subsumed under the earlier eighteen. For instance the dispute between lessor and lessee can be subsumed under *abhyupetya aśuśrūṣa* and the one regarding easements under *sīmāvivāda.*

It is argued that only the *prakīrṇaka* section contains what is now called criminal law in which the state appears as a party on behalf of the victim of a criminal act. And all other titles of dispute including *steya*, *sāhasa* and *strī saṁgrahaṇa* are matters of private litigation between the parties. He says, "In reality the scope of *prakīrṇaka* embraces topics quite distinct from private litigation matters falling within *prakīrṇaka* are characterized by the fact that the king can take them up *ex-officio.* By contrast, the king must abstain from taking up a case appertaining to private disputes when no one has addressed a plaint to him[36].

This view may lead one of the conclusion that the criminal justice system in early India was weak and that the State did not provide adequate protection and support to victims of crimes. However, Vijñāneśvara has clearly suggested that the State was required to play a much more active role in the administration of justice and that private individuals were not allowed to privately settle their disputes under many other titles of dispute, they were bound to seek the intervention of the State[37]. Here the scope of king's judicial authority is expanded by including new subjects in traditional lists of V*yavahāra padas.* The list goes up from the conventional eighteen to about seventy as given in *Pitāmaha* cited by Devaṇa[38]. All these new subjects are added in the 'miscellaneous' *(prakīrṇaka)* section. It may be argued that the new sections could not have been added to any other section because all other sections have a well demarcated area. Yet, in reply it may be said that the authors had a choice to create more titles of

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36. Lingat, Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

37. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* II.169. नष्टापहृतमासाद्य हर्तारं ग्राह्येन्नरम् । Vijñāneśvara in *Mitākṣarā* on it. नष्टमपहृतं वा इदं द्रव्यं क्रेतृहस्तस्थं ज्ञात्वा हर्तारं क्रेतारं स्थानपालादिभिर्ग्राहयेत् ॥ Indicates that people were not encouraged to settle their scores privately and were required to report all matters to local officers.

38. *Smṛticandrikā.* I. pp. 61-65.

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dispute: and by bringing new titles under the *prakīrṇaka* section, they have acted in tune with their general design to vest the state with more and more authority. The miscellaneous section was introduced by Nārada who gave to the king the right to take *suo-motu* action on the offences enumerated therein. Thus when the authors gave the expanded list of *prakīraṇaka* disputes they also recognized the king's right to take *suo-motu* action in those matters. Under the earlier dispensation the king could not initiate any legal action but had to act as an impartial arbitrator between two parties: but the *Nibandhakāras* recognized the king's power to initiate legal action and act as prosecutor even in certain disputes between private parties. Thus they gave to the state a greater authority to the lives and conduct of citizens. Vijñāneśvara has suggested that the state was to play a very active role in adjudicating peoples' disputes. For instance in the section on sale without ownership (*asvāmivikraya*) it has been laid down that if a person saw his lost or stolen goods in the custody of an unauthorized person, he should report to the local officials (*sthānapāla*) immediately and not try to take possession of his goods himself. In the section on theft it has been laid down that the local official and failing them, the king was personally liable to compensate victims of theft if they failed to recover and restore their stolen property.

It is also held that the king could take suo-motu action if a person transgressed his *varṇāśrama dharma*. And the king must take *suo-motu* action to make people, particularly the *Vaiśyas* and the *Śūdras* to adhere to their *dharma*[39]. Scholars see in such prescriptions the urge of the society to preserve itself through strict enforcement of the *Śāstric* code of conduct[40]. It may also be argued that by bringing *varṇāśrama dharma* under *prakīrṇaka* section authors also probably aimed to curtail the powers of the caste and community tribunals to dispense crude and arbitrary justice and thus encroach upon the right of the state.

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39. *Kṛtyakalpataru-vyavahārakāṇḍa*. p. 776

40. For the fear of their culture being submerged under the impact of new Islamic forces, the Hindus framed rigid rules against intermarriage and inter dining. The classes whose claim for being *kṣatriyas* was questionable tried to strengthen it by producing new genealogies.

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Another significant consequence of bringing this matter in the *prakīrṇaka* section was to put a check on the arbitrary exercise of authority by king's as well. When a matter is brought under *Vyavahāra* then the due process of law has to be gone through before an accused can be punished. Thus this change might have been introduced to prevent miscarriage of justice in the name of enforcement of the *varṇāśrama* code. Medhātithi, on the other hand expressed a contrary opinion in this matter. He said that the king could not force all *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* to follow their traditional vocations, in his view only those *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* would be forced who wanted to earn a living whereas those who did not want to earn a living could not be forced to do the jobs assigned to their *varṇa*[41].

Mention may be made here that here the political authorities also asserted their power to put in check the power of *brāhmaṇas* to prescribe *prāyaścittas* in case of several sins. It needs to be remembered that *dharmaśāstras* normally recognized the exclusive jurisdiction of *brāhamaṇas* over *prāyaścittas.* However many of the acts classified as sins were also recognized as 'crimes' over which the jurisdiction of the king was also recognized[42]. Thus the two enjoyed parallel jurisdiction over several acts, *Dharmaśāstrakāras* have sought to restrict the powers of the *brāhamaṇas* in this matter. P.V. Kane[43] has referred to the views of Parāśara who restricted the power of *brāhmaṇas* to prescribe *prāyaścitta* only to simple *prāyaścittas* and who specifically debarred them from prescribing the difficult one[44]. Commenting on this rule Mādhava has said that *prāyaścittas* for acts like cow slaughter, etc. can be awarded only by the king and should never be awarded by any other agency by circumventing the king[45].

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41. Swain, B.K., *op.cit.,* Ch.Vll. p. 159.

42. Viz. *Brahmahatyā,* theft, adultery with the teacher's wife, etc.

43. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra* III. p. 1050.

44. *Parāśaramādhavīya,* p. 179. राज्ञश्चानुमते स्थित्वा प्रायश्चित्तं विनिर्देशेत्/स्वयमेव न कर्तव्यं कर्तव्या स्वल्पनिष्कृतिः ॥

45. *Parāśaramādhavīya,* p. 179. अत्र गोवधस्य प्रकृतत्वाद् तमारभ्याधिकेषु पापेषु राजानुज्ञयैव व्रतं निर्दिशेत् ॥

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Some purely ritualistic offences have also been brought under the king's jurisdiction. There was a rule that the king must confiscate all the property of a person who does what is prohibited and does not do what is enjoined[46]. Hence rules open the entire field of *dharma* to royal scrutiny. This seems to be a vain attempt by the *brāhmaṇas* to preserve their social conduct and get the support of the state in this endeavour. It is also opined that 'one who regularly eats prohibited food[47] should be punished. Thus eating of prohibited food is converted from a spiritual-religious 'sin' into a crime punishable by the king[48].

Nibandhakāras extended the king's jurisdiction to matters where it was earlier expressly excluded. Earlier *smṛtis* clearly laid down that disputes between husband and wife, teacher and pupil, master and slave and father and son could not be raised before the king[49]. Vijñāneśvara, however, declared that this rule did not prescribe an absolute bar[50]. He gave several illustrations of the disputes between these pairs which could legitimately be raised in the king's court. Thus if a husband took away his wife's *strīdhana* for a purpose other than the ones prescribed by the *śāstras*, and refused to return the same inspite of having adequate resources, the aggrieved wife could take the matter to the king. There was modification in the earlier prohibition by saying that though the husband and wife cannot themselves raise a dispute in the king's court, the king can *suo motu* take it up if he learns about it[51].

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46. Bṛhaspatismṛti quoted in *Parāśaramādhavīya*. p. 131. विहिताकरणं नित्यं प्रतिषिद्धनिषेवणात् । भक्षाच्छवं प्रदायैषां शेषं गृह्णीत पार्थिवः ॥

47. *Ibid*. विहितस्य वर्णाश्रमकर्मणोऽसकृत्प्रमादादापद्व्यतिरेकेण अननुष्ठानात् तथा प्रतिषिद्धस्य अभक्ष्यभक्षणादेर्नित्यमनुष्ठानात् ॥

48. In the medieval context this may be a reference to beef eating.

49. *Nāradasmṛti* quoted by Vijñāneśvara in *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*.II.32. गुरो : शिष्ये पितुः पुत्रे दम्पत्योः स्वामिभृत्ययोः/विरोधे तु मिथस्तेषां व्यवहारो न सिद्ध्यति ॥

50. Vijñāneśvara in *Mitākṣarā* on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. II. 32. तदपि गुरुशिष्यादीनामात्यन्तिकव्यवहार प्रतिषेधपरो न भवति तेषामपि कथञ्चिद्व्यवहारस्य इष्टत्वात् ।

51. *Vivādaratnākara*, p. 409.

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Derrett aptly outlines the process of the evolution of medieval Hindu law by saying that prior to the digests and commentaries, Hindu law was in the pre-legal period, but with the advent of the digests and commentaries it was agreed that "it was the king who had the right to put things right"[52]. This shows that *Dharmaśāstra* law graduated to being law proper i.e. a political institution under the control of the political sovereign. One may term this phenomenon as *arthaśāstrization* of *dharmaśāstra* because law freed itself from spirituous-religious concerns and became a tool in the hands of the state to assert its superior authority over all social organisation.

The political situation provided the backdrop to the political thought in course of time. With the breakdown of large empires, political authority got fragmented among smaller regional and sub regional powers clamouring to widen their areas of influence and to exert their authority more decisively. It needs to be emphasised that the state did not cease to exist in India with the fall of the mighty empires of the ancient period. Instead of one pan Indian state several small states came into existence all of which were endowed with the essential characteristics of the state namely the assertion of all surpassing authority, backed with the power to inflict pain and punishment, over others by an individual through a well defined structure of power sharing under the overall supervision of that individual. The geographical boundaries of the then states were not fixed but it was a very fluid political situation and different individuals and families were trying to acquire, retain and expand their influence over more and more extensive territories.

Political theory, discussed in the *rājadharma* section of the texts on *dharmaśāstra*, envisages a strong state where the effective authority of the state is to be exercised by the king, assisted by an organised bureaucracy, beginning with ministers at the centre to village level officers. *Dharmaśāstras* present an extensive taxation and policing regime under the state. The state itself is a multi layered structure with several local rulers, having a similar state

52. Derrett, JDM, 'Prohibition and Nullity - India struggles with a Jurisprudential Lacuna' in *Essays. I.* pp.266-79.

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structure as the central king but functioning under the latter's overall control[53]. Mutual rights and powers of the central king and his subordinates are determined by their political and military strength. A strong central authority could exercise more effective control over the subordinates but a relatively weak central ruler had to concede more space to them, so much so that they could even declare their independence and assume the role of the central authority in respect of another set of local powers. Inspite of such constant pulls and pressures from various corners, various claimants to the powers of the state did set up lasting kingdoms where the theoretical constructs of the state were sought from the studies of the politico-administrative set up under various dynasties[54].

The process of multiple state formation implied a greater assertion of the sovereign rights of the state by rival groups and individuals. Though many of the newly preserving states sought validity for themselves from other social institutions such as village and town bodies, traders' guilds and temples and *Brāhmaṇas*, etc., and allowed them to partake of some sovereign rights of the state, for example, the right to collect taxes, the right to hear disputes and award punishments, yet it can by no means be said that these states had surrendered their essential superiority over all those institutions. This phenomenon may be seen as a part of the political strategy by the newly emerging rulers to gradually strengthen themselves by drawing upon different power bases in the society. It may be observed that the state entered into strategic, though, informal political compromises with different power bases like religious institutions and personnel, caste groups, village bodies and traders' guilds, etc, allowing them some amount of functional autonomy within its overall supervision. This did not mean any dilution in the powers of the state or the withering away of the state to gradually strengthen itself by drawing upon different power groups in the society. The texts themselves prescribe some understanding with different groups as a tool for the rulers to extend their influence[55], and not as a virtue or as something desirable in terms of

53. Swain B.K., *op. cit.*, Ch.III, pp. 42-51

54. Ghosal, U.N., *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 282

55. Swain, B.K., *op. cit.*, Ch.XI

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democratic functioning of the system. It is very interesting to note that *Dharmaśāstras* have laid down elaborate rules to delimit the autonomy of these power groups.

It may be noted that inspite of the strong sentiment of concentration of all authority in the hands of the king in the theory of the state, in the *Dharmaśāstras* the state does provide many freedoms to individuals and groups, thus accommodating diversities in the society. This provided some elasticity and flexibility to the state but did not destroy it. Problems of the mutual relations between the king and social organisations are visualised which are believed to have functioned independently as autonomous spaces within the state. It is also observed that in ancient and medieval India the so called autonomous spaces did not exist outside the state structure but inside it and functioned in active association with the apex authority. This is fully reflected in the *Dharmaśāstras,* which lay down several restrictions on different social institutions to prevent them from encroaching upon the authority of the state[56]. In other words the state allows only as much freedom to other institutions as it deems fit. Thus, it is the state which has laid down all the ground rules within which the other institutions have to operate.

The state used all other institutions to bestow validity upon itself. One mode to do this was to create chieftaincies and to allow local governors to act in the name of the superior ruler[57]. The second was to bestow a large number of land grants to individuals and institutions and to exercise Political authority through them. Several land grant documents mention that the donees were given the right to collect fines for 'ten offences'. This shows that the rulers reserved to themselves the right to punish people even in the remotest corners of their states and for politico-administrative reasons delegated this power to other suitable persons.

Many rulers sought legitimacy to themselves by claiming descent from divine sources and by supporting temples, *brāhmaṇas* and their settlements.

56. *Ibid.* ch.III.

57. *Ibid.*

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But far from surrendering their authority before temples or *brāhmaṇas*, the rulers used them to assert their power through them. That the medieval kings of Orissa asserted their authority through three modes (i) by extending patronage to important *tīrthas*, (ii) by systematically developing *brāhmaṇa* settlements and (iii) by constructing imperial temples[58].

Derret has said that "it was intended that the interpretations so offered and the texts selected should alone be referred to by judicial advisors through the king's territories and perhaps further" and that "the work of the scholar was taken seriously by the properly constituted judicial authority[59]." Royal patronage assured the works a measure of official status and consequently a certain authority[60].

It is observed that *smārta* scholars played an important role in shaping the polity. Many rulers extended patronage to a number of *smārta* scholars to produce *dharmaśāstras* in Socio-legal perspective who cast in shade old works in different branches of *dharmaśāstra* by composing fine treatises. These texts made possible the redefinition of values in accordance with the society. All aspects of culture were remodeled and reformulated and a new order originated, new in the sense of systematisation and standardisation. By claiming to be great followers and patrons of *dharma*, the rulers furthered their own right to rule as the *dharmaśāstras* themselves recognise the superior authority of the state.

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RĀMĀNUJA'S *VIŚIṢṬĀDVAITA* AND HEGEL'S ABSOLUTE IDEALISM - A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Shakuntala Gawde*

I. Preface:

Eastern and Western civilizations are different but they have tackled almost same problems of philosophy and in solving them their method and assumptions are strikingly similar. Rāmānuja and Hegel meet at many points regarding their metaphysical and ontological standpoints.

Rāmānuja (1017-1137 CE) is known as theologian and exponent of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophy. Rāmānuja tried to synthesize religion with philosophy. His main task was to combine the *pañcarātra* theism with the Upanisadic Absolutism. Initially, Rāmānuja was a student of *Kevalādvaita* system of *Vedānta*. Rāmānuja did not agree with the interpretations of certain Vedantic passages. He revolted against his preceptor Yādava Prakāśa about dry intellectual teachings which had no feeling or emotion for the deity. Rāmānuja did serious attempt to synthesize religion and philosophy by harmonizing religious feelings and logical thinking.

George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770 -1831 CE) was a great German philosopher who belonged to the modern era of philosophy. He structured European philosophy in a novel manner with integrated and constructive approach. He gave altogether a new turn to 'German Idealism' with his theory of 'Absolute Idealism'. He revolted against 'Abstract Idealism' constructed by his predecessors especially Plato and Kant.

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This paper aims to analyze the philosophical standpoints of both the philosophers and then to compare and contrast their ideologies. Structural similarities as well as differences in logical methods adopted by these philosophers to reach their standpoints will be worth seeing in comparison with each other.

This Paper undertakes comparative study of systems of Rāmānuja and Hegel with purely philosophical outlook. The objective is to analyze their views critically in comparison with each other and to cite not only similarities but differences as well.

II. Philosophical problem:

Philosophical problem faced by Rāmānuja and Hegel was that of 'abstract' philosophy put forth by their predecessors. Rāmānuja's main attack was on Śaṅkara's *Kevalādvaita* system of philosophy. He vehemently criticized the concept of *Nirguṇa Brahman* and *māyā*. Śaṅkara advocated the doctrine of identity of *Brahman* with *Jīva*. *Brahman* according to Śaṅkara was transcendental (*pārmārthika*) reality and it has to be understood in negative terms-*neti, neti.* Śaṅkara has solved the problem of illusory world with the doctrine of *māyā* establishing *Vivartavāda*. *Jagat* or world is nothing but the *vivarta* on *Brahman* and it is the product of *māya*. Rāmānuja did not accept the standpoint of Śaṅkara that material world is illusory.

It was thought that Śaṅkara's Absolute *Brahman* is only reachable for the highly intellectuals and not to common people. Rāmānuja personified the concept of *Brahman* as Nārāyaṇa and made it approachable to common man with the means like *bhakti, prapatti*. Therefore, nice blend of philosophy and religion, reason and faith is seen in his thoughts. Thus, the relation between *Jīva, Jagat* and *Brahman* is also thought in different manner by Rāmānuja.

Quite similar situation was faced by Hegel in the form of Plato's 'Idealism'. Plato (c. 348/347 BCE) is known as the founder of Western Idealism. He propounded the 'theory of Ideas or Forms'. 'Idea' is the 'concept' or 'universal' which is eternal, real opposed to the sensible objects existing in this world.

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The realm of Ideas is true and ultimately real for Plato. Platonic idea is not in any way a simple mental entity, since it is a being, that being that is absolutely real, the really real.'[1] Plato propounded the concept of 'Absolute Good' which stands at the apex and regulates all the ideas. It is equated with the 'Idea of God' which is the Highest Reality and is the cause of truth and knowledge.[2] Plato admits that there is one Absolute God who is righteous, who moves all things in the universe.[3] Objects of the empirical world are poor copies of those ideas existing in transcendental world. Plato admits ontological dualism in the form of two worlds, one having particular objects i.e. world of sensible object and the other the world of ideas i.e. transcendental world.

Hegel's main objection was on empty and abstract ideas of Plato and the ontological dualism by which 'particular' and 'universal' are cut off each other and they exist in totally different realms altogether. The world of sensible objects is considered to be false since it is ever changing and becoming whereas the transcendental world, the world of Ideas is real and eternal. Hegel was not ready to accept the falseness of the material world like that of Rāmānuja.

Aristotle's Realism (384 - 322 BCE) was in the favour of Hegel. In fact, Hegel is very much indebted to Aristotle. Aristotle criticized Plato's theory of ideas and especially the dualism of sense and reason, particular and universal. He rejected the unreality of sensible objects. On the contrary, he stressed the realism of the dynamic world which has its own teleology to move on. Ideas cannot remain beyond the particular objects and objects cannot exist without universals. So objects having universal or matter inherited with form is real. 'Formless matter' and 'matterless form' cannot exist without one exception e.g. God (*Actus Purus*) who is 'Form without matter.' Aristotle supports the view of realism where the reality of visual world is admitted and the world beyond sensory perception is rejected.

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1 Reale, G. (1990) *A History of Ancient Philosophy: Plato and Aristotle*,State University of New York Press, Albany, p. 47

2 *Republic* VI. 509

3 *Laws* X. 896, 898a

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According to Hegel, 'actual is real' and 'actual is concrete.'[4] In the Preface of *Philosophy of Right*, are found two propositions- 'What is reasonable is actual', and 'what is actual is reasonable'. Meaning of the word 'actual' is potential and not the thing which is static. Whatever is becoming, changing, having potentiality of something is rational in the sense that it is directed by some teleology. It means that reality is realized in and through the world in concrete manner. This view of Hegel is based on 'Realism' and 'teleology' of Aristotle and contrary to the view of Plato and Śaṅkara that the world of becoming is illusion.

Kant's Agnosticism (1724 -1804 CE) was again the point of objection for Hegel. Kant's philosophical standpoint is known as 'Transcendental Idealism'. In Kant's view the structure of mind through which we formulate our experiences about the exterior world is 'transcendental' because they are the basis of experience and they are ideal because they are in the mind. The connotation of the word 'transcendental' is altogether different. The word 'transcendental' is not to suggest 'beyond' but it suggests 'before experience'.

His *Critique of Pure Reason* ends therefore in Agnosticism. He became skeptic about the knowledge concerning metaphysical entities called the world, soul and God. Kant has not denied the reality of these things but he considered them as limits of our experiences. Like Śaṅkara and Plato, Kant accepted the dualism of *phenomenon* (the world as it appears or experienced) and *noumenon* (a thing in itself i.e. a real nature of the world). Kant's Transcendental Idealism leads towards Agnosticism because he has rejected the possibility of knowing *thing-in-itself (Ding an sich).*

Hegel rejected the Agnosticism presented by Kant. Hegel's Absolute Idea (*Die Absolute Idee*) is comprehensible as it manifests itself in each and everything in the world. Thus, Hegel accepting the challenge of his predecessors did this work of synthesizing of one sided and partial views into his philosophy.

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4 Hegel, G.W.F. *Encyclopaedia of The Philosophical Sciences*, Part I (§143,144), translated by William Wallace, Marxists Internet Archive, 2009 (1830), p.302

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III.1. Rāmānuja's *Saguṇa Brahman*:

Concept of *Nirguṇa, Nirākāra Brahman* is totally disagreed by Rāmānuja. S. Radhakrishnan says while commenting on the *Nirguṇa Brahman of* Śaṅkara-

'The Absolute of Śaṅkara is rigid, motionless and totally lacking in initiative and influence cannot call forth our worship. Like the Taj Mahal, which is unconscious of the admiration it arouses, the Absolute remains indifferent to the fear and love its worshippers, and all those who regard the goal of religion as the goal of philosophy-to know God is to know the real- Śaṅkara's view seems to be a finished example of learned error.'[5]

Śaṅkara has elucidated the concept of Highest (*para*) and lower (*apara*) *Brahman*. Ultimately he regards the Highest reality as *Nirguṇa Brahman*. Rāmānuja admits only one *Brahman* i.e. *Saguṇa*, the *Viṣṇu* or *Nārāyaṇa*. He is possessed of all auspicious qualities and devoid of all malicious attributes.[6] Qualities like knowledge, power, strength, overlordship, prowess, lustor are denoted by the word *Bhagavat* as said in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.[7] The word *Nirguṇa* is interpreted by Rāmānuja with positive and theistic approach. He says this word is used in *Upaniṣads* for the sake of dismissing all negative qualities. He has argued to prove that there cannot be mere assertion of the existence of *Brahman* devoid of qualities.

Rāmānuja's *Saguṇa Brahman* is worshipped through *bhakti, prapatti* and *śaraṇāgati*. He equates *bhakti* with *dhṛvānusmṛti* which leads towards liberation. He has given importance to 'grace of God' having resorted to the Upanishadic

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5 Radhakrishnan, S. *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999 p. 659

6 *Śribhāṣya* I.1.1

ब्रह्मशब्देन स्वभावतो निरस्तनिखिलदोषोऽनवधिकातिशयासंख्येयकल्याणगुणगणः पुरुषोत्तमोऽभिधीयते ।

7 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, VI.5.79

ज्ञानशक्तिबलैश्वर्यवीर्यतेजांस्यशेषतः ।
भगवत्शब्दवाच्यानि विना हेयैर्गुणादिभिः ॥

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references.[8] Therefore R. D. Karamarkar has rightly said that- 'Rāmānuja, however, deserves full credit for making his doctrine popular and easily comprehensible to the people at large, steeped in the teachings of *Bhagavadgīta* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, as he was, he surely brings philosophy from heaven to earth.'[9] Thus, Rāmānuja is credited for giving the practical approach towards ultimate reality.

III.2. Hegel's 'Absolute Idea' (*Die Absolute Idee*):

Ultimate Reality according to Hegel is 'Absolute Idea'. It manifests itself in each and everything existing in the world unlike Plato and Aristotle's 'Absolute Good' or *'Actus Purus'* which stands at the apex of the pyramid and just regulates all ideas coming under It.

The Absolute Idea, which is the final product, is the result of the mutual concretization of all the abstract notions, the objectification of each one on every other.[10] According to Robort Solomon, 'Absolute is complete, self-contained and all-encompassing. The Absolute is the unified, comprehensible whole-in plain terms, knowable reality. When Hegel talks about 'knowing the Absolute' he means, knowing reality.[11]

The Absolute is equated with God, the Highest manifestations of this principle of reason. Hegel calls this as Idea (*die Idee*). As J. Hibben has pointed out- 'The Idea, the Absolute, God are to be regarded as strictly synonymous

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8 *Kaṭhopaniṣad* I.2.23

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वाम् ॥

9 Karamarkar R. D. *Shribhashya of Ramanuja*, translated in English, University of Poona, Poona, 1989, p. xxxiii

10 Hegel, G.W.F. *op. cit.* p. 46

11 Solomon, Robert C. *In the Spirit of Hegel: A Study of G. W. F. Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1983, p. 174

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terms used by Hegel interchangeably, and with no shade of distinction in their meaning.'[12]

Hegel is seen as offering a metaphysico-religious view of God *qua* 'Absolute Spirit', as the ultimate reality that we can come to know through pure thought process alone. In short, Hegel's philosophy is treated as exemplifying the type of pre-critical or 'dogmatic' metaphysics against which Kant has reacted in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, and as a return to a more religiously driven conception of philosophy to which Kant had been opposed.[13]

Hegel tried to explain philosophy in its totality. In the opinion of Hegel, every science focuses on the part of *Geist* (spirit). For Hegel, 'part' is not real but appearance. When part is understood in connection with its whole then it is the knowledge of reality. Therefore, Hegel's Philosophy of *Geist* (spirit) manifests in three ways-the philosophy of Subjective Spirit, Objective Spirit and Absolute Spirit. Subjective spirit manifests itself into philosophy, psychology; Objective Spirit into Law and politics and Absolute Spirit into religion and philosophy. Hegel has tried to give all inclusive philosophy. Hegel's concept of Absolute Idea becomes clear when his dialectic method is carefully studied. It gives us Hegelian method of moving from abstract to concrete.

III. Standpoint of 'Monism' and 'Realism':

Rāmānuja and Hegel solved philosophical problem with the standpoint of monism. While doing so, they haven't negated the reality of world but accepted each and everything as real.

IV.1. Rāmānuja's *Viśiṣṭādvaita:*

Viśiṣṭādvaita means *Brahman* is qualified by *cit* (soul) and *acit* (matter). Rāmānuja vehemently criticized Śaṅkara's concept of *Nirguṇa Brahman.*

12 Hibben J. G. *Hegel's Logic: An Essay in Interpretation*, Batoche Books Limited, Kitchener, 2000, pp. 16-17

13 Redding, Paul, 'Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel', *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (Summer 2012 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = ‹http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2012/entries/hegel/›

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According to him, *Brahman* cannot be Absolute i.e. devoid of all attributes or qualities. Therefore, his 'Qualified monism' also can be termed as 'Concrete Monism'.

Though *Brahman* is ultimately real for Rāmānuja, It is not devoid of *jīva* and *jagat* whereas *cit* and *acit* are the parts of *Brahman*. So *jagat* is not at all illusory for him but as a part of *Brahman*, it is very much real unlike Śaṅkara who calls *jagat* as illusory (*mithyā*). *Cidacit* forms the body of *Brahman*.[14] In Rāmānuja's system of philosophy, the Lord (*Nārāyaṇa*) has two inseparable *prakāras* or modes, namely, the world and the souls. These are related to Him as the body is related to the soul. They have no existence apart from Him. They inhere in Him as attributes in a substance. They are termed as *Viśeṣaṇas* or attributes. The Lord is their indweller (*antaryāmin*). He is the *Viśeṣya* or that which is qualified.

Though *cidacit* is said to be the body of *Brahman*, it is not tainted by blemishes of *cidacit*. They are related to *Brahman* by inseparable relation (*apṛthaksiddhi*) with each other. Just as blueness of the lotus is inseparable quality of the lotus. The relation between *jīva* and *Brahman* is explained in following way by Rāmānuja :

- *Śarīra-śarirī-bhāva* (*body/indweller*)
- *Prakāra-Prakāri-bhāva* (*attribute or mode/substance*)
- *Śeṣa-Śeṣi- bhāva* (*owned/owner*)
- *Aṁśāśī-bhāva* (*part/whole*)
- *Ādhārādheya-bhāva* (*supporter/supported*)
- *Niyamya-niyāmaka-bhāva* (*controlled/controller*)
- *Rakṣya-rakṣaka-bhāva* (*redeemed/redeemer*)

God is real and independent but the reality of world is utterly dependent on *Brahman*. According to Śaṅkara, all manifestations and distinctions seen in the world are illusory. Rāmānuja believed them to be real under the control of *Brahman*. Thus for Rāmānuja, *Brahman*, *cit* and *acit* are three entities,

14 *Subalopaniṣad* VII.1 यस्य पृथिवी शरीरम् ।

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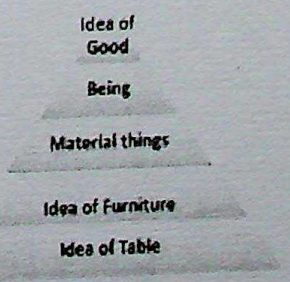
individually distinct from each other, all equally real, at the same time all forming a unity, in the sense in which the self and its body form a unity. Rāmānuja being *satkhyātivādin*, has accepted that everything that is perceived is real. In this way, Rāmānuja's doctrines reconcile the various statements in *Upaniṣads*, referring to unity and plurality.[15] Thus, Rāmānuja's system is though known as *Advaita*, he cannot get away from the fact that in his opinion there are three real entities. R. D. Karamarkar says in this regard- 'Rāmānuja's *Viśiṣṭādvaita* is no *Advaita* at all; it is not *Dvaita* either, it may be called '*Traita*' as a matter of fact.'[16] Thus, multifarious reality is accepted by Rāmānuja in the standpoint of *Advaita*.

IV.2. Hegel's Absolute Idealism:

According to Absolute Idealism of Hegel, there is only one Reality i.e. Absolute Idea. Hegelian monism is not the abstract one like that of Śaṅkara in Indian philosophy and Plato and Spinoza of Western Philosophy. Hegelian Monism is different than Absolute Monism of Śaṅkara, Plato and Spinoza. Hegel's Absolute Good is not exclusive of all things but includes all the things of the world in It like that of Rāmānuja's *Saviśeṣa Brahman*. Therefore, Hegel's Absolute Idealism is nothing but Concrete Monism. It is based on the Hegelian concept of 'Concrete Universal'.

Method adopted by Plato for reaching toward 'Absolute Good' from plurality of Ideas is the method of exclusion as shown in the figure with the example of pyramid. After examining the Plato's theory of Idea from the eye of Hegel, following logical fallacies can be produced.



Platonic Ideas do not have any mutual relationship with each other and they are not organically related. Plato has explained the universe in ascending order with the hierarchic structure of Pyramid. It goes smoothly from the base to the apex. This system

15 Ghate, V. S. *The Vedanta*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Istitute, Poona, 1981, p. 24

16 Karmarkar, R. D. *op.cit.* p. xxxii

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doesn't work in deduction of lower category from the higher. Ascending from the base towards apex is possible but not vice a versa. Hegel realized that Plato's ideas are mere empty abstractions. Plato has totally ignored the accidental or particular qualities which form the real essence of that particular thing.

Ideas are formed by method of abstraction in Plato's model of Hierarchic Pyramid. Common qualities are arbitrarily excluded from the lower to the higher e.g. suppose a man is at the base of Pyramid. In order to move from the category of 'man' to 'animal', it becomes necessary to deduct the rationality which is *differentia*. Man (Rational animal) - Rationality =Animal (*genus*). As such by this method we can go higher till the 'Idea of Good'. With this systematic abstraction at each stage, we are left with *genus* without *differentia*. Deduction of lower from higher, we require necessary *differentium* e.g. in order to get a man from animal we require *differentium* as rationality. We cannot get this *differentium* from animal because we have already excluded it. Plato's Ideas are abstract, lacked details, lacked *differentia*. Ideas should contain *differentia*, they must be concrete. Plato's Ideas are empty and abstract due to his method of exclusion of qualities of particular object.

Hegel adopted the method of inclusion and considered all the qualities of the object which form the very essence of particular thing. According to Hegel, a 'Concrete Universal' is not reached by stripping away the differences and details which constitute particular things. The process is not from the particular to universal as Plato has followed but particulars should follow from the universal. Concrete Universal is a whole system. Once we know the whole, parts automatically follow from it. There is organic relation between the whole and its parts e.g. Cat- teeth, paws, tail etc. this is the structure of the whole organism. Concrete Universal includes all particulars under it as its essential parts. Parts in the separate sense are mere illusion. Parts should be observed with their connection to the whole. Concrete universal is not obtained by the method of exclusion but by including all other details.

Hegel is a monist because he admits one reality. Reality should be pictured as one organic whole with many things as its members. Idea in its individual sense is unreal. Logical relation of ideas leads to organic unity.

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'Absolute Idealism' should not be understood in the negative sense. It is idealism about the 'Absolute'. Hegel seems to regard God as a synonym, or more popular religious expression for the same. In his lectures on the philosophy of religion, he explains that philosophy and religion share one and the same object: the absolute or God (*Vorlesungen uber die philosophie der religion* I, 33/1.116).[17]

For Hegel, the Absolute is the whole. The Absolute is not something that transcends existence; it is the whole of existence itself understood as a system in which each part is organically and inseparably related to each other. The Absolute, is not the whole of reality conceived as a static, block universe. Instead, Hegel argues that the Absolute is dynamic, continually replenishing or reconstituting itself through the finite beings that make up the infinite whole.[18]

The word Absolute is not to indicate any abstract reality as it is assumed by Hegel's predecessors. Hegelian concept of 'Abstract' suggests one sided or partial view of things. He uses the word 'concrete' to indicate a comprehensive view of things which includes all possible considerations as to the nature of the thing itself, its origin, and the relations which it sustains; it is the thing plus its setting.[19]

According to Robert Solomon, 'Abstract (*abstract)* is one sided, partial and empty, devoid of content. To abstract is to pick out some aspects of a thing to the exclusion of others, or to make a general claim without fleshing out its details and its context. Abstract does not mean 'theoretical' or 'abstruse.' Whereas Concrete (*konkret* also *wirklich*) is the whole, the thing-in -itself which is opposed to abstract.'[20] This leads to the concept of 'organic whole'.

Like Rāmānuja, Hegel also established some inseparable relation between

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17 Beiser, F. *Hegel*, Routledge, New York, 2005, p. 59

18 Magee, G. A. *The Hegel Dictionary,* Continnum International Publishing Group, New York, 2012, p. 19

19 Hibben J. G. *op.cit.* p. 12

20 Solomon, Robert C, *op.cit.* p. 276

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Absolute Idea and other ideas. This is done by the concept of organic whole i.e. the relation between whole and parts.[21] Parts have significance only in connection with the whole. They have dependent reality and whole is always independently real.

Worldly objects derive their meaning and function from the whole and the whole is also sustained by its parts. The relation of whole and parts is inseparable relation unlike machine where parts are separable rather it is Living Organism e.g. the limbs and organs for instance, of an organic body are not merely parts of it. It is only in their unity that they are what they are, and they are unquestionably affected by that unity, as they also in turn affect it. Therefore, whole world is one reality guided and sustained by the Absolute Idea which is the indwelling spirit of the universe. Thus Hegel's concept of reality can be put as- 'Whole consisting of parts in organic relation is Real'.

IV.3. Epistemology

Rāmānuja strives hard to refute *Brahman* devoid of qualities as propounded by Śaṅkara's *Kevalādvaita*. Therefore, he proved that there cannot be any knowledge of *Nirviśeṣa* things. In order to refute the concept of *Nirviśeṣa Brahman*, first he refutes the existence and apprehension of any indeterminate object in general. Knowledge involves distinctions and there is no undifferentiated pure consciousness.

IV.3.1. Rāmānuja's Refutation of Indeterminate Reality:

Knowledge is always *Saviśeṣa* (determinate) i.e. comprising of attributes. Rāmānuja refutes *Nirviśeṣavādins* by proving that all *pramāṇas* fail to establish the existence of indeterminate objects.

i) Śabda (Verbal Testimony)-

All words are formed by crude word with some particular suffix(*Śribhāṣya* I.1.1)[22]. Affixes give particular meaning to the word. Sentence is nothing but

21 G.W.F. Hegel, *op.cit.* (§ 135), p. 291

22 *Śribhāṣya* I.1.1, शब्दस्य तु विशेषेण एव वस्तुन्यभिधानसामर्थ्यम् । पदवाक्यरूपेण प्रवृत्तेः ।

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the group of particular words. So sentence cannot propound indeterminate object (*Ibid*)[23]. Therefore neither the word *Brahman* nor the *śruti* statements regarding *Brahman* also can convey indeterminate meaning.

ii) Pratyakṣa (Perception) -

Perception is generally divided into *Savikalpa* and *Nirvikalpa Pratyakṣa*. There is no such thing as indeterminate perception according to Rāmānuja. *Savikalpa Pratyakṣa* is fuller and richer perception as compared to *Nirvikalpa Pratyakṣa*. Determinate perception is always concerned with the objects having distinct qualities. He defines Indeterminate Perception as perception of an object bereft of some qualities (*Ibid*)[24]. It is not completely without qualities. All apprehension is in the form of 'this is thus' (*idamittham*) (*Ibid*)[25]. Therefore, perception cannot give knowledge of Indeterminate object.

iii) Anumāna (Inference) -

Inference is always based on Perception. Therefore Inference also cannot prove indeterminate object. *Nirvikalpa Pratyakṣa* is the first apprehension of a body among homogeneous objects and the second and subsequent apprehensions are called the *Savikalpa Pratyakṣa*. (*Ibid*)[26]. In *Nirvikalpa Pratyakṣa* there is perception of certain attributes. e.g: When there is a first perception of a cow, one may not realize it is a cow but qualities or special configuration such as triangular form or dew lap etc are present in *Nirvikalpa Pratyakṣa* also. These qualities are *saṁsthāna* while cow is *saṁsthānin*. There cannot be the perception of *saṁsthānin* without *saṁsthān* (*Ibid*)[27]. Configuration (*saṁsthāna*) is

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23 *Ibid*, पदसङ्घातरूपस्य वाक्यस्यानेकपदार्थसंसर्गविशेषाभिधायित्वेन निर्विशेषवस्तुप्रतिपादनासामर्थ्यात् न निर्विशेष्वस्तुनि शब्दः प्रमाणम् ।

24 *Ibid*, निर्विकल्पकं नाम केनचिद्विशेषेण वियुक्तस्य ग्रहणं. न सर्वविशेषरहितस्य ।

25 *Ibid*, केनचिद्विशेषेण 'इदमित्थम्' इति सर्वा प्रतीतिरुपजायते ।

26 *Ibid*, निर्विकल्पकमेजातीयद्रव्येषु प्रथमपिण्डग्रहणम् । द्वितीयादिपिण्डग्रहणं सविकल्पकमित्युच्यते ।

27 *Ibid*, संस्थानेन विना संस्थानिनः प्रतीत्यनुपपत्तेश्च प्रथमपिण्डग्रहणेऽपि संस्थानमेव वस्तु 'इत्थम्' इति गृह्यते । अतो द्वितीयादिपिण्डग्रहणेषु गोत्वादेरनुवृत्तिधर्मविशिष्टता संस्थानिवत्संस्थामवच्च सर्वदैव गृह्यत इति तेषु सविकल्पकत्वमेव । अत प्रत्यक्षस्य कदाचिदपि न निर्विशेषविषयत्वम् ।

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apprehended in first apprehension and in second and subsequent apprehensions along with the *saṁsthāna,* other attributes of that particular *saṁsthānin* are also observed. Thus, Rāmānuja proves that there can be no knowledge of an entity bereft of distinctive attributes. This argument proves that *Brahman* is *Saguṇa* and not *Nirguṇa*. Therefore, the concept of *Nirviśeṣa Brahman* is totally disapproved by Rāmānuja. It is not possible to know indeterminate *Brahman* by any means of proof. All *pramāṇas* have their object as qualified by some or the other attributes. (*Ibid*)[28]

According to Rāmānuja's theory of knowledge, real cannot be a bare identity. It is a determinate whole which maintains its identity in and through the differences. Therefore, S. Radhakrishnan says in this context- 'Śaṅkara's *Nirguṇa Brahman* stares at us with frozen eyes regardless of our devotion and silent suffering, is not the god of religious insight.[29] Śaṅkara's method according to Rāmānuja, leads him to a void, which he tries to conceal by futile play of concepts.

IV.3.2. Hegel's Dialectic Method:

Dialectic method is an ancient method which has its origin in Socratic and Platonic philosophy. The term 'dialectic' is derived from a *Greek* word which means to argue.[30] In Platonic dialogues, after establishing as many as possible arguments and counter arguments, necessary conclusion is deduced. It contains positive, negative statements and affirmative statements which synthesize previous contradiction. Dialectic method is defined in *Republic* as- 'A dialogue between two or more people holding different points of view about a subject, who wish to establish the truth of the matter by dialogue, with reasoned arguments.[31]

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28 *Ibid*, निर्विशेषवस्तुवादिभिर्निर्विशेषे वस्तुनि 'इदं प्रमाणम्' इति न शक्यते वक्तुम, सविशेषवस्तुविषयत्वात्सर्वप्रमाणा-नाम् ।

29 Radhakrishnan, S. *op.cit.* p. 683

30 Collinson, D. *Fifty Great Philosophers- a reference guide*, Routledge, London and New York, 2002, p. 96

31 *Republic*, 348b

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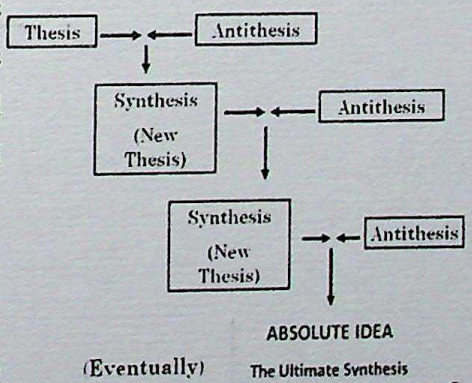
Hegel has introduced 'Dialectic method' for the rationalistic explanation of universe from abstract concept of 'being' to most concrete concept of 'Absolute Idea'. Hegel's dialectic method is often explained in the terms of Thesis, Antithesis and Synthesis though these terms are not used by Hegel himself. When one side is affirmed as truth it is called as Thesis. Immediately there arises the opposite view with stronger conviction called as Antithesis. Assimilation of two opposites is possible by all-inclusive concept which can accommodate these contrary notions that is Synthesis. This triadic notion keeps the motion of the world. Never ending process of thesis-antithesis-synthesis ultimately ends in the final category of Absolute. Hegel's Absolute is the ultimate synthesis of all positive and negative categories.

Hegel has used terms for this triadic structure as 'the abstract understanding', 'the negative reason', and 'the positive reason'. The first stage generally called 'thesis' is designated by Hegel as the stage of the abstract understanding. The second, the 'antithesis', is a representation of the incompleteness of the first by showing its obverse side, is known as that of the negative reason. The third, the 'synthesis', is known as the speculative stage, or that of positive reason. With this dialectic method, Hegel has given first triad which is responsible for subsequent triads and ultimately this process ends in 'Absolute Idea'.



Being-Non-being and Becoming

First Triad consists of Being, Non-being and Becoming. Hegel starts his dialectic process with an empty concept of 'Being'.[32] Hegel calls this very first category as 'Pure Being'.[33] It is just thought, not thought of something else already given. Being is presupposed by any object and therefore it is the first category which is necessary for any object. Whichever object it may be real or unreal must have some sense of being. It is

32 Hegel, G. W. F. *op.cit.* p. 32

33 *Ibid* p. 222

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without any features, absolutely indeterminate. It is empty, abstract, without any specific content. It is merely a thought, and as such it forms the beginning. This mere being, as it is mere abstraction, is therefore the absolutely negative: which, in a similarly immediate aspect, is just 'Nothing'.[34] According to Hegel, 'being' contains 'non-being'. Though 'being' and 'non-being' are opposed but they are identical. 'Non-being' is deduced from 'being' and at the same time 'being' passes into 'non-being'. It suggests the principle of Identity-in-difference. Hegel affirms that becoming (*Werden*) is the unity of 'being' and 'non-being'. The truth of 'being' and of 'Nothing' is accordingly the unity of the two and this unity is 'Becoming'.[35] 'Non-being' passes into 'being' or 'being' passes into 'non-being'. Therefore, 'Becoming' includes 'being' and 'non-becoming' both. 'Becoming' is the first concrete thought, and therefore the first notion, whereas 'Being' and 'Nothing' are empty abstractions.

This triad of 'Being', Non-being and 'Becoming' gives way to subsequent ideas. Hegel seeks logical transition from abstract to concrete, from the more general to the less general idea with the dialectic method. The first category of 'Being' is Abstract, without any qualities. As the dialectic advances, the succeeding categories become more and more concrete till we reach the highest category of 'Absolute' in which all categories are preserved and nothing is lost. Therefore Hegel's system can be termed as 'Concrete Monism'. The higher and more concrete categories contain the lower and more abstract ideas. Lower category also contains the higher categories. Being not only contains 'non-being' and 'Becoming' but also contains other categories including the final category of Absolute. Thus the Final category contains all previous categories so 'Being' is naturally contained in it. Thus, the first category is equal to last category and last also contains all other previous categories explicitly. The Whole World is a system of categories, inter-related dialectically and organically unlike machine in such a way that the Absolute is the reason of Being and all other previous categories.

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34 *Ibid* (§ 87), p. 225

35 *Ibid* (§ 88), p.227

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Hegel has introduced the most important principle of contradiction. According to him, every positive concept has the seed of its opposite. Struggle of two opposites is harmonized in the positive concept of synthesis. Thus never ending process of development ends in Absolute. Mere 'being' is homogeneous and it lacks details or attributes. In order to be determinate or more concrete, it should be distinguished from the other. Here the principle of 'negation' plays very important role.

'Being' can only be thought as determinate. Only way to characterize determinate being is in terms of some property and property terms can only be made intelligible by being opposed, contrasted to each other. In this, Hegel takes up the Spinozan principle that 'all determination is negation'. The upshot of this first dialectic of 'being' and 'non-being' is thus the synthesis of the two in *dasein* or determinate being. Charles Taylor says in this context -'Contradiction is attributed to *Dasein* or determinate being via the notion of negation. *Dasein* is the marriage of 'being' and 'nothing' i.e. of reality and negation.'[36] Hegel proposes to construct the world of knowledge, and to show how part is related to part throughout, and all parts to the whole in a progressive development wherein every advance marks a growing completeness of knowledge and this is done by the principle of negation.

J. Hibben explains three stages of dialectic as affirmation, negation and then a negation of this negation which is itself an affirmation.'[37] Thus, Hegel's concept of negation is not purely negative and it doesn't mean extinction or annihilation. It is a positive concept in the sense that it suggests sublimation into a higher form. It is in this way that negation is to be regarded as a means of more precise characterization and determination in the progressive development of thought.

V. Observations and critical remarks:

After examining standpoints of both the philosophers, we come to know

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36 Taylor, C. *Hegel*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1975, p. 223

37 Hibben, J. G. *op.cit.* p. 13

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that though both these philosophers have tried to solve philosophical problems and challenges faced by them in different space and time, their method and views are almost similar. Of course, there are differences too which are peculiar to their own philosophy and cultural background.

a) Principle of Harmony:

Rāmānuja and Hegel have revolted against their predecessors who tried to solve the problem of ultimate Reality by abstract way. Rāmānuja and Hegel have constructed their philosophy on the basis of synthesis and given importance to harmony. They have given prime importance to practicality along with the logical reasoning. Therefore everything in the world is thought to be real under the control of Rāmānuja's *Brahman* or Hegel's Absolute.

b) Concrete Monism:

Rāmānuja and Hegel come under one roof of 'Concrete Monism'. Rāmānuja and Hegel never admit the existence of indeterminate objects. Even the ultimate reality is determinate, concrete for them. Just as Rāmānuja ruled out existence of indeterminate objects similarly Hegel refuted Plato's Abstract and empty ideas and proved the existence of concrete things comprising of innumerable qualities and details.

c) Abstract to Concrete:

Rāmānuja explains the meaning of indeterminate perception as the first stage of knowledge and it becomes determinate in subsequent stages. Similarly, Hegel has assumed the concept of being which is indeterminate in the very beginning of logic, but gradually it becomes more and more concrete and ends in Absolute. Method adopted by both the philosophers to rule out the existence of indeterminate things is structurally similar though details differ.

d) Inseparable relation:

According to Rāmānuja, there is relation of *aprthak siddhi* between *Brahman*

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and *cidacit*. Surprisingly Hegel also assumes some inseparable relation between Absolute and its parts though he has not given any particular name to that relation. Rāmānuja's *Brahman* or Hegel's Absolute are not devoid of attributes. Rāmānuja's *Brahman* includes *jīva* and *jagat* as the very parts of it. Similarly Hegel's Absolute is the whole having mutually inter-related parts. Parts in its separate sense are mere illusion he says. Reality is one organic whole with its inter-related parts. Just as Rāmānuja's *Brahman* is not devoid of world and soul similarly Hegel's Absolute is the ultimate synthesis of all the contradictory categories of the universe.

e) Realism:

According to Rāmānuja, *jīva* and *jagat* are not illusion. *jīva* and *jagat* are real as far as they are considered as the parts of whole *Brahman*. They are dependent on *Brahman* for their existence. *Brahman* is only independent reality. Same relation is assumed by Hegel between Absolute Idea and other categories in the form of 'Organic whole'. Therefore, everything becomes real as a part of Absolute Idea.

f) Triadic notion:

Rāmānuja's *Viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophy can be put into Hegel's dialectic of thesis, antithesis and synthesis. *Cit* can be called as thesis; *acit* can be called as the opposing concept of antithesis. *Brahman* is the synthesis of *cidacit* which reconciles both the opposing views and thus it contains *cidacit*. Just as Hegel has given place to two contradictory notions in the concept of becoming and ultimately in Absolute, similarly two opposites *cit* and *acit* are also the very parts of Rāmānuja's *Saguṇa Brahman*. Thus, *Saguṇa Brahman* is all-inclusive like that of Absolute Idea of Hegel. Concept of 'triad' is common in both the philosophers. Hegel's dialectic method of philosophy proceeds with the triad being, non-being and becoming. Similarly Rāmānuja has given importance to *tattvatraya-cit*, *acit* and *Brahman*.

g) Ultimate Reality:

Rāmānuja's concept of *Brahman* is not that of a merely last term in ascending

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series like that of Plato's Idea of Good, nor that of merely transcendental Absolute existing above and beyond like that of Śaṅkara's *Brahman*. While the conscious and unconscious objects of the universe coexist with God and yet they derive their existence from him and sustained through Him. The Absolute of Rāmānuja is an organic unity, an identity which is qualified by diversity. It is a concrete whole (*viśiṣṭa*) which consists of the inter-related and inter dependent subordinate elements which are called *viśeṣaṇas* and controlling spirit which is called *Viśeṣya*. Similarly Hegel's Absolute is not just the Highest or Supreme Idea among all the ideas or transcendent, indeterminate concept but It is concrete, determinate, having inter-related parts contains in it all the objects of the universe. In fact, Hegel's Absolute is the sum total of whatever exists in this world and not devoid or empty of anything.

Conclusions

Rāmānuja and Hegel propounded their philosophy in different socio-cultural scenrario. Rāmānuja's *Brahman* is personified and it is the place of ultimate resort to devotees. Rāmānuja opened the doors of liberation through the means of *bhakti*. Therefore he did not dwell on impersonal *Brahman* which is abstract. Rather he promoted extreme surrender through Highest devotion to personal God. He gave importance to *sālokya*, *sārupya*, *sāmīpya* types of liberation i.e. enjoying in the vicinity of Viṣṇu, assuming the same form like Him, taking delight of serving Him. Liberation was not possible through mere knowledge devoid of devotion, mediation or surrender. Rāmānuja gave importance to *karman* by considering this world as real.

Hegel's Absolute is known through reason because 'rational is real and real is rational' according to him. There is no place to personal god like Rāmānuja in Hegel's philosophy. At the same time, Hegel's 'Absolute' is not an abstract entity like *nirguṇa Brahman*. He has not forsaken world from the category of reality but has included each and every particle. Thus, both these philosophers have dealt with similar problems and solutions thereof. Rāmānuja and Hegel have defined the reality in new manner. 'All-inclusive' nature is the only characteristic of reality according to Rāmānuja and Hegel.

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THE *AKṢARABRAHMAN SATPURUṢA* - THE MEANS AND THE END
LIVING LIBERATION IN SWĀMINĀRĀYAṆA HINDU THEOLOGY

Tilak Parekh*

The quest for immortality has been a vital and pervasive feature of human life throughout history, from the dark recesses of humanity's earliest cultures to modern society with all its technologically advanced trappings. The notion of 'liberation' and 'salvation' has, unsurprisingly then, occupied the heart of theological enquiry for millennia. Religious traditions, ranging from Christianity to Buddhism, Islam to Hinduism, have been attracted and gripped by the possibility of transcending the finite to reach the infinite.

My enquiry is based on the idea of being able to experience the infinite and attain liberation whilst alive. Within Hinduism, this is called *jīvan-mukti*, meaning 'living liberation', which stands in contrast to the idea of *videha-mukti*, literally meaning 'liberation devoid of a body'. Within this study I shall explore the 'theologies of *jīvan-mukti*'. More specifically, this paper aims to explore the notion of *jīvan-mukti* within Swāmināŕāyaṇa theology and through doing so intends to assess the soteriological role of the Akṣarabrahman entity.

Theological Significance of This Study

Let us now justify the theological significance of this essay, which is firstly

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based on the importance of the concept of *mukti* and, more specifically, *jīvan-mukti*. The idea of *mokṣa* or *mukti* is present in most Hindu traditions, however, there is no consensus on how this *mukti* is conceptualised. Nonetheless, across these traditions, the notion of *mukti* certainly holds a significant position. Deussen, in describing Indian philosophy, writes, 'No people on earth took religion so seriously, none toiled on the way to salvation as they did'[1] , whilst Dasgupta has declared it as 'the pivot on which all systems of Indian philosophy revolve'[2].

Within Hindu soteriology, and perhaps in theological discussion more generally, the doctrine of *jīvan-mukti* is one of even greater theological and religious significance because it suggests that a human can have one foot in time and one foot in eternity. The prospect in itself is gripping and undeniably attractive. Who would not be captivated by the idea of experiencing the infinite within the borders of the finite? It provides us with a fascinating topic of theological discussion to further understand Hindu thought. It speaks of the potential of a human whilst also uncovering the nature of the divine, offering us insights into our condition and our relationship with God. Since no such specific study has been conducted on Swāminārāyaṇa's position on *jīvan-mukti*, this work can serve as a fresh contribution to this field within the wider Hindu theological discourse.

In her chapter on 'Living Liberation in Comparative Perspective', Patricia Mumme provides a typology of strong, medium, and weak *jīvan-mukti* positions within different Hindu theologies. She concludes her chapter by writing, 'Modern Hindu philosophers and recent devotional movements started by contemporary Gurus would also be fertile ground to test the extensibility of the body of theory presented here.'[3] Thus, through this study I will also respond to her call

1 Paul Deussen, *The Systems of Vedānta* [KB Classics, Chicago 2015], p. 49

2 S.N. Dasgupta, *Yoga philosophy in relation to other systems of Indian Thought* [Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1930], p. 316

3 Patricia Y. Mumme, 'Living Liberation in Comparative Perspective', in *Living Liberation in Hindu Thought*, ed. Andrew O. Fort and Patricia Y. Mumme [State University of New York Press, Albany 1996], p. 268

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for further scholarship. Furthermore, the Swāminārāyaṇa *Sampradāya* is a popular and rapidly growing Hindu tradition in both India and the diaspora. This study will thus also help make sense of the theological and soteriological beliefs of this new popular religious tradition.

Sources of Study

To conduct this study, I shall be drawing upon the primary works of Swāminārāyaṇa. He himself did not write a commentary on the *Prasthānatrayī*, but in his discourses and letters he extensively refers to and provides his own interpretations of several of the canonical texts' verses. The principal text I shall use to understand Swāminārāyaṇa's theology is the *Vacanāmṛta*, a collection of Swāminārāyaṇa's discourses compiled by his senior contemporary disciples. Sādhu Paramtattvadas explains, 'The *Vacanāmṛta* is the principal theologico-philosophical text of the Vedāntic tradition he propounded, and, in effect, constitutes a natural, albeit indirect, commentary on the [*Prasthānatrayī*] triad.'[4] I will also use the *Vedarasa*, a collection of letters written by Swāminārāyaṇa to his monastic disciples. For analysis involving precise verses from the *Prasthānatrayī*, I will use the *'Swāminārāyaṇa-Bhāṣya'* written by Swami Bhadreshdas. Swāmi Bhadreshdas has written this commentary based on the theology Swāminārāyaṇa reveals in his primary texts. Swāmi Bhadreshdas belongs to the BAPS denomination within the Swāminārāyaṇa *Sampradāya*. Thus, whilst the study of Swāminārāyaṇa's theology presented here is principally based on Swāminārāyaṇa's primary works, there is debate amongst several denominations over how his texts are to be understood. The interpretations of his works in this essay will be based on the BAPS understanding of his texts.[5]

Structure

Having examined the theological significance of the project, identified the

4 Sādhu Paramtattvadas, *The Ontological Distinction between Brahman and Parabrahman in the Swāminārāyaṇa Vedānta Tradition*, M.St. Study of Religion Dissertation [University of Oxford, 2007], p. 27

5 Bochasanwasi Shri Akshar Purushottam Sanstha (commonly abbreviated to BAPS), is a denomination within the Swāminārāyaṇa tradition that propounds the 'Akshar-Purushottam Darshan' theology.

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necessary source material, and established the contours of the study, it would be of value to briefly introduce the forthcoming three sections as a roadmap for the reader. In general, it splits the fundamental thesis question into three premises as follows:

Section 1 will provide a brief introduction to Swāminārāyaṇa theology that will serve as a necessary backdrop to understanding Swāminārāyaṇa's beliefs on *jīvan-mukti*.

Section 2 will explore Swāminārāyaṇa beliefs on *jīvan-mukti*.

Section 3 is where the study reaches its climax in aiming to understand the soteriological role of the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*.

1) SWĀMINĀRĀYAṆA THEOLOGY

Swāminārāyaṇa posits five eternal entities. He plainly states, "From the Vedas, the Purāṇas, the Itihāsa and the *Smṛtis*, I have formed the principle that *jīva* [the soul/*ātman*], *māyā*, *īśvara*, [Akṣara] Brahman and *Parabrahman* are all eternal."[6] Swāminārāyaṇa asserts his position as a realist by writing, "The *jīva* is real, *māyā* is real, *īśvara* is real, *Brahman* is real, *Parabrahman* is real".[7]

Parabrahman is the term for God in Swāminārāyaṇa's theology. Swāminārāyaṇa states, "Śaṅkarācārya has propounded that God is formless, whereas Rāmānujācārya and other *ācāryas* have propounded that God has a form", before going on to say that he agrees with the view that God has a form.[8] Swāminārāyaṇa introduces an ontological entity called "*Akṣarabrahman*", which is distinct from *Parabrahman*. He uses the term *Brahman* interchangeably with *Akṣarabrahman* throughout his texts, but when he refers to God he uses

6 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta*, translated by BAPS Sādhus [Swaminarayan Aksharpith, Ahmedabad 2010], *Gaḍhaḍā* 3.10 (henceforth referred to as 'Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta*'; all translations are from this edition, unless otherwise stated)

7 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vedarasa* [Swaminarayan Aksharpith, Ahmedabad 1978], p. 177

8 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 1.71

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the term *Parabrahman*, literally meaning higher or superior *Brahman*. *Akṣarabrahman* is a feature of Swāminārāyaṇa's metaphysical structure that does not have an analogue in Śaṅkara's or Rāmānuja's theology. Explaining the distinction between *Akṣarabrahman* and *Parabrahman*, Swāminārāyaṇa writes, "Transcending that [Akṣara] Brahman is *Parabrahman*, *Purushottam Nārāyan*, who is distinct from *Brahman*, and is the cause, the supporter and the inspirer of *Brahman*".[9] Only *Parabrahman* and *Akṣarabrahman* transcend *māyā*, and therefore are the only two entities capable of granting liberation. *Māyā*, for Swāminārāyaṇa, is the force of *Parabrahman* that keeps all *jīvas* in bondage.[10] Swāminārāyaṇa writes that *Parabrahman* "is greater than even *Akṣara*, which is greater than everything."[11]; 'everything' is to be understood as the three entities of *jīva*, *īśvara*, and *māyā*. Therefore, the *Akṣarabrahman* entity is part of the divine reality because it transcends *māyā*, although is it subordinate to *Parabrahman*. The *Akṣarabrahman* entity is considered to have four forms, of which two are relevant for my essay.[12] The first form of *Akṣarabrahman* is Akṣaradhāma, the divine abode of *Parabrahman* wherein all liberated souls reside for eternity.[13] The second form is the human form of the *Guru* who is presently manifest on the earth. The *Guru is Akṣarabrahman* and is also known as the *Satpuruṣa*. Currently, the *Akṣarabrahman Guru* is accepted by believers of the tradition to be a *sādhu* named 'Mahanta Swāmi Maharāja'

2) *JĪVAN-MUKTI*

For Swāminārāyaṇa, upon death liberated souls will "go to Akṣaradhāma

9 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta* Gaḍhadā 2.3

10 *Ibid.*, *Gaḍhaḍā* 1.12

11 *Ibid.*, *Gaḍhaḍā* 1.64

12 Smit Gadhia, 'Akshara and Its Four Forms in Svāminārāyaṇa's Doctrine', in *Swaminarayan Hinduism: Tradition, Adaptation and Identity*, eds Raymond Brady Williams and Yogi Trivedi [Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2016], pp. 156-171

13 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Pancāḷā* 1

14 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 1. 21

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[*Parabrahaman*'s divine abode] to forever remain in the service of God."[14] As seen in section one, Akṣaradhāma is a form of the *Akṣarabrahman* entity. It is the divine abode in which *Parabrahman* eternally resides with other liberated souls. Swāminārāyaṇa states, "God, who possesses a definite form, is always present in His abode".[15] For liberation to occur, a *jīva* must become *brahmarupa*. What does it mean to be *brahmarupa*? Swāminārāyaṇa explains: "When the *jīva* attains a likeness to that *[Akṣara] Brahman...*, then that *jīva* can also be said to be *brahmarūpa*."[16] As learned in section one, Swāminārāyaṇa uses the term *Brahman* interchangeable with *Akṣarabrahman* throughout his texts. To become *brahmarūpa* is for the *jiva* to receive the qualities of Akṣarabrahman and thus become like *Akṣarabrahman*. Therefore, liberation within Swāminārāyaṇa theology is more than just a return to the original state of the soul; it is conceived as the attainment of the highest spiritual state.[17] *Bhakti* and communion with God are crucial to Swāminārāyaṇa's concept of liberation. Swāminārāyaṇa explains, "one who does not offer *bhakti* to *Parabrahman* after becoming *brahmarup* cannot be said to have attained ultimate liberation."[18] Liberation, both in Akṣaradhāma [*Parabrahaman*'s divine abode] and on earth, is attended by unconditional, pure, selfless *bhakti*.

Swāminārāyaṇa has a very clear and strong position on *jīvan-mukti* that holds a significant place in his overall theology. He unequivocally states his belief in *jīvan-mukti* several times in the Vacanāmṛta. For example, in *Gaḍhaḍā* 3.2, he clearly states that it is possible to attain "the highest state of enlightenment, or liberation, while in this body."[19] Elsewhere, Swāminārāyaṇa

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15 *Ibid.*, *Gaḍhaḍā* 3.7

16 *Ibid.*, *Gaḍhaḍā* 2.20

17 Sādhu Paramtattvadas, *Identifying and Locating Hindu Theology in The Swāminārāyaṇa Vedānta Tradition*, PhD Thesis, [The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 2013], p. 551(Henceforth referred to as *Hindu Theology in Swāminārāyaṇa Vedānta)*

18 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Loyā* 7

19 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 3.2 (own translation)

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states: "If one practices *satsaṅga*[20] with absolute sincerity... one will become *brahmarūpa* while in this body"[21]. The key word in this phrase for our purposes is '*brahmarūpa*'. As seen above, to become *brahmarūpa* is for the *jīva* to become like *Akṣarabrahman*, by receiving and imbibing the qualities of *Akṣarabrahman*. It is this *brahmarūpa* state that distinguishes a *siddha* (accomplished) from a *sādhaka* (spiritual practitioner), or a *jīvan-mukti* from an ordinary *jīva*. To be *brahmarūpa* is to transcend *māyā* and attain liberation. Swāminārāyaṇa writes: "becoming *kashrut* [*brahmarūpa*] and serving Shri Purushottam Nārayana is in itself liberation."[22] As we read earlier, Swāminārāyaṇa asserts that offering *bhakti* is integral to liberation. To become *brahmarūpa* is essential for this. Swāminārāyaṇa states: "Only one who is *brahmarūp* has the right to offer *bhakti* to *Purushottam*. [God]"[23] To attain *videha-mukti* and go to Akṣaradhāma *(Parabrahaman's* divine abode) once the body has fallen, one must be *brahmarūpa*, and to attain *jīvan-mukti*, one must also be *brahmarūpa*. This is the preeminent *brahmic* state for Swāminārāyaṇa.[24]

As mentioned earlier, *mukti* is "not only for personal spiritual fulfilment and safety... but also to be able to fully devote oneself to *Parabrahman*."[25] Explaining the centrality of *bhakti* to *jīvan-mukti*, Swāminārāyaṇa writes, "When the devotee has kept his mind at the holy feet of God in this manner, he does not have to die to attain the abode of God; he has attained it while still alive".[26]

Interpreting Verses from the *Prasthānatrayī*

The Vedānta system is based on commentaries *(bhāṣyas)* on the *Brahmasūtras, Upaniṣads* and *Bhagavad Gītā*. Exponents of each school attempt

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20 Literal meaning is 'associating with the truth'

21 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Sāraṅgpura* 9

22 *Ibid.*, Ashlali

23 *Ibid., Loyā* 7

24 Paramtattvadas, *Hindu Theology in* Swāminārāyaṇa *Vedānta*, p. 552

25 *Ibid.*

26 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 3.7

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to verify their doctrines by establishing their authenticity from these three texts. Our understanding of Swāminārāyaṇa's position on *jīvan-mukti* will be further enhanced by analysing interpretations of two verses, one found in the fifth chapter of the Bhagavad Gītā and the other from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*. As Clooney writes, failing to engage with these primary texts in a discussion of Vedānta would be like "examin[ing] a gem in a totally dark room, [or] appreciat[ing] a tree by cutting away everything but its roots."[27]

We begin by examining verse 5.23 of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. Sargeant translates it as: "He who is able to endure here on earth, before liberation from the body, the agitation that arises from desire and anger, is disciplined; he is a happy man."[28]

In the *Swāminārāyaṇa Bhāṣya*, Bhadreshdas, in the *saṅgati* (a title clarifying the purpose of the forthcoming verse), states that it describes one "who is eligible for *jīvan-mukti*."

Bhadreshdas writes:

> The person, who, before the fall of the body, here, whilst in this body and alive, has overcome his base nature. He who, through gaining the association of the *Brahmasvarūpa Guru*, ponders and praises the glory of the manifest form of God and eliminates the faults within while understanding that glory - only such a person can become a *'yukta'*. Only such a person is happy.[29]

Bhadreshdas, inferring from the entire context of the *Gītā*, understands a *yukta* to be one who has realised God, therefore a *yukta* is a *jīvan-mukti*. This Swāminārāyaṇa interpretation thus clearly accepts *jīvan-mukti*. Bhadreshdas

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27. Francis Clooney, *Theology After Vedānta: An Experiment in Comparative Theology*, [State University of New York Press, 1993], p. 22

28 Sargeant Winthrop, *Bhagavad Gītā translation*, Winthrop [State University of New York, Albany 2009] p.265

29 Sādhu Bhadreshdas, *Swāminārāyaṇa Gītā Bhāṣya*, [Swaminarayan Aksharpith, Ahmedabad 2009] p.127-128

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also uses the word by putting *pratyakṣaparamātmālakṣaṇayoga* (God realisation) and *araha* in the same nominative case. Therefore, *araha* means he has already achieved this state. *Araha* is a *vidheya viśeṣaṇa* in this case. For instance, if one says 'Nick is a doctor', it means Nick and the doctor are one person, the present tense is implied. In the same way, *araha* is used by Bhadreshdas to mean this individual is already a *mukta*, because the word preceding it is in the same nominative case and tense.

Next we shall assess commentaries of verse 2.1.10 from the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad,* translated by Olivelle as: "All this is simply that Person-rites, penance, prayer *[Brahman],* the highest immortal. *One who knows this, my friend, hidden within the cave, cuts the knot of ignorance in this world.*"[30] In particular, we shall focus on the latter half of the verse, which I have emphasised with italics.

In the *Swāmināŕāyaṇa Bhāṣya,* Bhadreshdas summarises Swāmināŕāyaṇa's conceptualisation of *brahmavidyā*, the highest knowledge. He says it is the knowledge of *'Akṣarabrahman'* and *'Parabrahman',* attained only through the association and instruction of the *Brahmasvarūpa Guru.* He states that when such *barmaid* has been attained, "all of one's knots of desires and ignorance are destroyed, one becomes *brahmarūpa* and attains the bliss of Sahajānanda Swāmi [Swāmināŕāyaṇa]. One becomes a *mukta.* Thus, *jīvan-mukti* has been propounded."[31] In interpreting *'iha',* Bhadreshdas clearly writes, "In this body, in this realm, whilst alive."[32]

Having gained an understanding of the theoretical basis of Swāmināŕāyaṇa's *jīvan-mukti*, we can briefly survey the features of a *jīvan-mukta* for Swāmināŕāyaṇa. He describes a *jīvan-mukta* "as one characterised by... equanimity amid all dualities (*Vacanāmṛta Loyā.*16), and independence from

30 Patrick Olivelle, *The Early Upaniṣads - Annoted text and translation,* [Oxford University Press, 1996], p. 445

31 Sadhu Bhadreshdas, *Swāmināŕāyaṇa Upaniṣad Bhāṣya, Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad,* [Swaminarayan Aksharpith, Ahmedabad, 2009] p. 266, 276

32 *Ibid*

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the body, senses, faculties and all other *māyic* or *karmic* influences (*Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 1.62). Most importantly, it is a state of complete self- and God-realisation, wherein the *jīvan-mukta* has a direct experience of *Parabrahman* in all his resplendent glory (*Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 1.20), both within his/her own soul (*Vacanāmṛta Sāraṅgpura* 10) and wherever he/she turns (*Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 1.26), as if *Parabrahman* or his abode are not even an atom away (Vacanāmṛta Sāraṅgpura 10). The *mukta*'s senses and mind are now totally engrossed in *Parabrahman* (*Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 1.51). Nothing else remains noticeable (*Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 1.24); he/she experiences God in everyone and in everything (*Vacanāmṛta Kāryāṇi* 7)."[33]

As mentioned in the introduction, we can now see where Swāminārāyaṇa fits into Patricia Mumme's typology of strong, medium, and weak *jīvan-mukti* positions. She puts Śaṅkara in the strong category and Rāmānuja in the weak category. Where would Swāminārāyaṇa fit in? Mumme states that a 'strong' *jīvan-mukti* position entails several features: 1) the state of living liberation is shown to be a clearly defined and discrete state, stressing its difference from previous states;[34] 2) the *jīvan-mukti* state is shown to have virtual equivalence to post-mortem liberation; and 3) the *jīvan-mukta* state is demarcated by a threshold experience.[35] Swāminārāyaṇa fulfils the first two of these criteria. The *brahmarūpa* state is a clearly defined and discrete state and Swāminārāyaṇa on numerous occasions equates it with post-mortem liberation. However, he does not talk of a clear 'threshold experience'; *sādhanā* is a gradual process which culminates in *jīvan-mukti*.

3) AKṢARABRAHMANSATPURUṢA - THE END AND THE MEANS

What is *mukti* for Swāminārāyaṇa? In *Vacanāmṛta Pancāḷā* 1, he states that liberation consist of two elements, 1) becoming *brahmarūpa*, and 2) serving Shri Purushottam Nārāyaṇa. For Swāminārāyaṇa, such a *mukti* can be achieved, here and now, whilst alive on the earth.

33 Abridged from Paramatattvadas, *Hindu Theology in* Swāminārāyaṇa *Vedānta*, pp. 565-566

34 Mumme, *Living Liberation in Comparative Perspective*, p. 248

35 *Ibid.*, p. 250

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We shall now examine these two component of *mukti*, In analysing the statements Swāminārāyaṇa makes in the *Vacanāmṛta* regarding these two features for living liberation, we can exegetically assess the role of the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa* for *jīvan-mukti.*

Let us first explore the initial aspect of being *brahmarūpa.* For liberation to occur, a *jīva* must become *brahmarūpa.* Swāminārāyaṇa explains: "When the *jīva* attains a likeness to that *[Akṣara]Brahman...*, then that *jīva* can also be said to be *brahmarūpa.*"[36] Swāminārāyaṇa uses the term *Brahman* interchangeably with *Akṣarabrahman* throughout his texts. To become *brahmarūpa* is for the *jīva* to receive the qualities of *Akṣarabrahman* and thus become like *Akṣarabrahman.* It is this *brahmarūpa* state that distinguishes a *jīvan-mukta* from an ordinary *jīva.* Here, a brief comparison with Śaṅkara's state of *jīvan-mukti* would be useful to provide greater clarity. For Śaṅkara, the soul is *Brahman;* they are one and the same. However, for Swāminārāyaṇa, the *brahmarūpa* state is "not a substantial union but a qualitative similarity with *Akṣarabrahman.*"[37] Unlike in Śaṅkara's system, the *jīva* always remains ontologically distinct from *Akṣarabrahman* and *Parabrahman.* Therefore, we can see that, *mukti* itself is considered to be imbibing the qualities of the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa,* that is the *brahmarūpa* state.

Next, we consider the process of becoming *brahmarūpa*, the *Sādhanā.* In other words, the means to achieving the end. The end being *jīvan-mukti.* How is such a state achieved? Swāminārāyaṇa explains, "If one associates with *Brahman* through continuous contemplation in this manner, the *jīva* acquires the virtues of that *Brahman.*"[38] Association with the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa* is therefore indispensable for one who aspires to become *brahmarūpa*, i.e a *jīvan-mukta.* The importance of the association of the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa* for *jīvan-mukti* can be seen when Swāminārāyaṇa states: "If one has the association of God and the *Bhakta* of God, and God is pleased upon him, then

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36 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 2.20

37 Paramtattvadas, *Hindu Theology in* Swāminārāyaṇa *Vedānta*, p. 554

38 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 2.31

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even though he is in on earth, he is still in the abode of God."[39] The "*bhakta* of God" in this quote, due to the salvific function here, is understood as the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*. A primary feature of Swāminārāyaṇa's *sādhanā* to attain *jīvan-mukti* is to have '*ātmbuddhi*' (literally 'self-perception') with the manifest *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*. This is to say, because of intense love and association, one perceives the *Satpuruṣa* to be one's self. Swāminārāyaṇa in a letter to his disciples writes, "One should develop *ātmabuddhi* with him *[Akṣarabrahman]*, and with that thought, become a *jīvan-mukta*."[40]As we saw earlier, Bhadreshdas also writes that *brahmavidyā* can be attained only through the association and instruction of the *Brahmasvarūpa Guru*. Therefore, it can be seen from the above explanations of *sādhanā* by Swāminārāyaṇa that *jīvan-mukti* is a real possibility through 'oneness' with and 'association' of the manifest *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*. Thus, we can assert that the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa* plays an essential role in the means to achieving *jīvan-mukti*.

However, this only covers the first half of *mukti*, i.e. becoming *brahmarūpa*, leaving the second element of 'worshipping' *Parabrahman* left to be explored. *Bhakti* and communion with God are crucial to Swāminārāyaṇa's concept of liberation. Liberation, both in Akṣaradhāma [*Parabrahaman's* divine abode] and on earth, is attended by unconditional, pure, selfless *bhakti*. Explaining the centrality of *bhakti* to *jīvan-mukti*, Swāminārāyaṇa writes, "When the devotee has kept his mind at the holy feet of God in this manner, he does not have to die to attain the abode of God; he has attained it while still alive".[41] The question then remains, how can one worship the ultimate *Parabrahman* whilst on earth? Swāminārāyaṇa directs aspirants to the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*. He establishes that through the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa* one has attained *Parabrahman* himself. He writes, "when he [the *jīva*] attains the association of such a Saint, he has, while still alive, attained he who was to be attained after death [i.e. *Parabrahman*]."[42] Having attained *Parabrahman* on this earth in the

39 *Ibid.*, *Gaḍhaḍā* 2.28 (own translation)

40 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vedarasa*, p. 166

41 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 3.7

42 Swāminārāyaṇa, *Vacanāmṛta Gaḍhaḍā* 3.2 (own translation)

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form of the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*, Swāminārāyaṇa instructs his devotees to worship him. Swāminārāyaṇa states, "Those who are eager to secure their liberation should thus serve such a Saint ... . Why? Because ... Such a Saint, even though he is human [in form], is worthy of being served like God."[43]

Raymond Williams also writes, the "Guru/disciple relationship is heightened because it is placed in a new context in which the Guru is thought to be the body of Parabrahman through whom he reveals all his powers for the salvation of individuals."[44] Therefore, worshipping the *Satpuruṣa* is equivalent to worshipping *Parabrahman*, not because they are ontologically identical, but because the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa* is considered to be the form or vessel of God, holding him in every part of his body. Briefly contrasting Rāmānuja's position here will help illustrate the novel concept of the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*. Rāmānuja appears not to accept *jīvan-mukti* because eternal communion with Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa and eternal service of God [*nitya kaiṅkarya prāpti*][45]can only take place in Vaikuṇṭha.[46] As Troy Wilson Organ succinctly puts it, *mukti* for Rāmānuja is "a state of actual communion with *Īśvara*, a condition which is not possible before the forsaking of the vital and bodily sheaths of the soul."[47] In contrast, for Swāminārāyaṇa, whilst *Parabrahman* is present in Akṣaradhāma for *videha-mukti*, God's presence is also on earth through the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa* which allows for such *bhakti* and communion on earth, and therefore allows for *mukti* on earth.

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43 *Ibid.*, *Gaḍhaḍā* 3.26

44 Raymond B. Williams, 'The Holy Man as the Abode of God in the Swāminārāyaṇa Religion', in *Gods of Flesh, Gods of Stone: The Embodiment of Divinity in India*, eds. Joanne Punzo Waghorne, Norman Cutler, Vasudha Narayanan [Columbia University Press, New York 1996], p. 153

45 M. Yamunācārya, *Rāmānuja's Teaching in His Own Words*, [Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1988], p. 127

46 Srinivasachari, *The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita*, p. 464

47 Troy Wilson Organ, *The Hindu Quest for the Perfection of Man* [Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi 1994], p. 170

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Thus, from my aforementioned analysis, it is apparent that the presently manifest *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa* plays a significant soteriological role in Swāminārāyaṇa's acceptance of *jīvan-mukti*. Akṣaradhāma (*Parabrahaman*'s divine abode for *videha-mukti*) and the manifest *Satpuruṣa* are one and the same entity, they are both *Akṣarabrahman*. *Videha-mukti* is residing within the *Akṣarabrahman* abode, and *jīvan-mukti* is becoming one with the *Akṣarabrahman* living *Satpuruṣa*.

CONCLUSION

My research and analysis on *jīvan-mukti* has been focused on the theological and doctrinal aspects of the subject, however, it is certainly not a topic that is confined to theory or 'orthodoxy'. The Swāminārāyaṇa tradition we have discussed is a lived tradition, and *jīvan-mukti* plays a profoundly practical role in it. *Jīvan-mukti* is a meeting point between time and eternity, between humanity and divinity, and between 'theories' of religion and lived religion. It places the abstract concept of *mokṣa* (liberation) into a tangible reality. For millions of adherents of religious traditions who believe in *jīvan-mukti*, the purpose of their spiritual praxis no longer remains a distant and abstract concept; it is transferred into the here and now, invigorating one's daily praxis - indeed, one's whole lifestyle - and intensifying one's religious convictions. The *Akṣarabrahman Guru* becomes the locus of liberation on earth and is thereby regarded extremely highly by the followers who adhere to such an interpretation of Swāminārāyaṇa. The Guru becomes the epicentre of the entire religious tradition; thousands of followers revere him as the medium to God and seek his association due to his centrality in their attainment of *jīvan-mukti*.

Based upon the primary texts of the tradition, *jīvan-mukti* within Swāminārāyaṇa theology appears to be inextricably linked to the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*. Both *videha-mukti* and *jīvan-mukti*, are tied with *Akṣarabrahman*. Firstly, the actual state of the *jīvan-mukti*, the *brahmarūpa* state, is itself defined as a qualitative similarity with the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*. Secondly, pure *bhakti* to *Parabrahman*, who is the ultimate goal, is carried out through the *Akṣarabrahman Satpuruṣa*, because as we have seen *Parabrahman* is present on earth through the *Satpuruṣa*. Finally, the means to achieve such a state is also through *ātmabuddhi* with the *Satpuruṣa*.

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Within Hinduism more generally, the living *guru* is usually conceptualised as bridge to God, a conduit, as the means. However, for Swāminārāyaṇa, the *Guru's* theological and soteriological position is elevated to include both the means and end. Why so? The answer lies in the fact that the *Guru* or the *Satpuruṣa* is an entirely different ontological entity, *Akṣarabrahman*. It is this fact which enhances the *Guru's* theological position to the point that because of *Parabrahman's* substantial presence in him, the *Guru* becomes a soteriological 'end'.

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INDICATIVE-NESS OF SANSKRIT PREFIXES

V. R. Manoj*

Introduction

Generally, all roots are enumerated in their popular meaning in the root-index[1]. Wherever they are found used in a meaning different from the one in which they are enumerated in the root-index, the conventional contention is that prefixes decide the multiple-sense-ness of roots. In cases where quite a few roots have been catalogued in multiple-senses in the root-index itself, the assumption is that they are used bereft of prefixes in all different shades of meanings for the reason that their different shades of meanings are substantial and contextually revealing. And this subject has been coherently presented by this author in a book entitle धातूनामनेकार्थत्वसाधनम् (2014)[2] . The book dwells on the two view-points viz., (a) Indicative-ness (द्योतकत्वम्) =being indicative or suggestive, not directly capable of expressing the sense by denotation.This view considers prefixes as indicators of the different shades of root-meaning which

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1. Root-index refers to पाणिनीयधातुपाठः in this paper.
2. Manoj, V. R. *धातूनामनेकार्थत्वसाधनम्*. Chinmaya International Foundation ShodhaSamsthan, Ernakulam, Kerala - 2014. PP. 1-17 & 20-26. If lucidly translated, it means 'Validating the multiple sense-ness of Sanskrit roots'. The aforementioned book substantially presents grounds to conclude that the multiple-sense-ness of Sanskrit verbs are not attributed by prefixes. Prefixes stand nearby a root to indicate a certain inherent shade of root-meaning. Therefore, prefixes are not expressive.

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are reflected by concomitance; and (b) Expressive-ness (वाचकत्वम्) =expressive as contrasted with द्योतकत्वम् that believes in the inherent meanings of prefixes which are revealed while in conjunction with the roots. After evaluating both of the views, the afore-mentioned book refutes the expressiveness of the prefixes to establish the multiple-sense-ness of verbs. Yet, the argument whether prefixes are expressive or indicative has not been independently dealt with in the said book but presented only as one of the several points of discussion.Hence, this paper, centred mainly on the same book, is a comprehensive attempt to endorse the indicative-ness of the prefixes.

Examples in Support of Expressive-ness

The multiple-sense-ness of roots is testified by numerous usages.For example, 'भू सत्तायाम्'. Herein, 'भू' is the actual root and 'सत्तायाम्' is the meaning part.'भवति' is one of its derivatives which means, being/present,as in 'अद्य सोमवासरो भवति' (Today is Monday). Examples for its usages in multiple senses are: अनुभवति, सम्भवति, पराभवति, प्रभवति to mean experiencing, happening, getting defeated and being capable of respectively.

Another example is, 'ष्ठा गतिनिवृत्तौ'. Herein, 'ष्ठा' is the actual root and 'गतिनिवृत्तौ' is the meaning part. 'तिष्ठति' is one of its derivatives which means standing. Examples for its usages in multiple senses are: सन्तिष्ठते, अवतिष्ठते, प्रतिष्ठते and वितिष्ठते[3] to mean moving in a group, remain attentive, setting out to a journey and observing respectively.

These and numerous similar examples help prop up the theory of Expressive-ness (वाचकत्वम्) that endorses prefixes having independent meaning.

Counter-examples of Expressive-ness

The point of view that prefixes have independent meaning can't stand careful scrutiny, for there are usages in which a different meaning is conveyed without using a prefix, besides other reasons. For example,

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3. By Panini's aphorism 'समवप्रविभ्यः स्थः'(1.3.22), the normal usage तिष्ठति is transformed to तिष्ठते in conjuction with the prefixes सम्, अव and प्र.

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भजति and भजते are verbal forms derived from the root भज् to mean सेवा (service, worship etc.). As in,

ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम्।

तथा

अपि चेत्सुदुराचारो भजते मामनन्यभाक्। (गीता 9.29-30)[4]

But the same word is found used in absolutely different meanings. For example,

भजन्ति विपदस्तूर्णमतिक्रामन्ति सम्पदः। (भट्टिकाव्यम् 18.4)[5]

The context is the lamentation of Vibhīṣaṇa at the death of his brother Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa was overcome by sorrow, though he fought with Rāma against the demons for the sake of righteousness, the death of Rāvaṇa kindled in him brotherly affection. Here विपदः तूर्णं भजन्ति means that misfortune soon 'overtakes'.

Another example,

पाणौ फणी भजति कङ्कणभूयमैशे सोऽयं मनोहरमणीरमणीयमुच्चैः।
कोटीरवन्धनधनुर्गुणयोगपट्टव्यापारपारगममुं भज भूतभर्तुः। (नैषधम् 11.18)[6]

There are two different usages of the same verb. The first one is *Bhajati* in the first line and the second, *Bhaja* in the last line. The context is the *Svayaṁvara* of Indumatī. The first line is a description of the king who is being introduced to Indumatī - पाणौ फणी कङ्कणभूयं भजति means, the serpent becomes a bangle in the hand! भजति = becomes. The second is an advice to Indumatī- अमुं भज means, 'court him' or 'accept him' as husband. भज= to court, to accept.

Yet another example,

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4. Panasikar, Vasudev Lakshman [Ed.]. भगवद्गीता with the commentary शङ्करनन्दी of Sri Sankarananda Saraswati. Chaukhambha Surabharati Publishers, Varanasi - 1989. Ch. 9.29-30.
5. भट्टिः। *भट्टिकाव्यम्* । Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1995. Ch. 18.4.
6. श्रीहर्षः। *नैषधम्* । Chaukhamba Sanskrit Bhavan, Varanasi- First Ed. 2001. Ch. 11.18
7. कालिदासः। *रघुवंशम्* । Krishnadas Academy, Varanasi-1997. Ch. 8.43.

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अभितप्तमयोऽपि मार्दवं भजते कैव कथा शरीरिषु (रघुः 8.43)[7] . Even the iron मार्दवं 'भजते' = 'becomes' soft when heated.

All these examples substantiate that roots express multiple senses independent of prefixes, because there is some sort of inherent similarity in the basic meaning of the root, knowledge of which helps determine the contextual meaning (सान्दर्भिकार्थः). The use of a prefix becomes imperative where the above said sort of inherent similarity in the basic meaning of the root is not obvious from the surface.Consider the example of a man being called a son, father, husband, brother etc. wherein the man remains the same with his personal impervious despite the fact that his different character-roles are indicated. These assumed names and relationships thereon would be confirmed only when the inseparable associations he has in his life with other members are established. Similarly, a root has all the meanings. Prefixes simply help them indicate by just being there, nearby. Let the prefix get dissociated, the root remains the same with all its impregnated meanings.

Discussions from *Vaiyyākaraṇasiddhāntalaghumañjūṣā*[8] of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa opines that a prefix is indicative because it is pre-fixed to indicate the particular sense of the root. In his view a particular expression is the property of a specific linguistic unit. A verb is a specific linguistic unit along with the prefix conjoined to it. The divisions such as root and prefix are conceptualised to facilitate the smooth progression of the derivative process.

He presents different views on the hierarchical appendage of suffixes and prefixes to roots. One view supports the prefix and root connection succeeded by that of root and suffix. The other view supports root and suffix connection succeeded by that of prefix and root. He extracts the *Bhāṣyam*[9] to substantiate the view that suffixes are added first and then prefixes, in which, the root connects itself to the suffix while it remains infused with the meaning that it

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8. नागेशभट्टः। *वैय्याकरणसिद्धान्तलघुमञ्जुषा with the commentary कुञ्चिका of दुर्वलाचार्यः and कला of* बलभट्टः Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi. Reprint - 2006. Ch. निपातार्थनिर्णय pp. 584-616.
9. *Ibid.*

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attains while in conjunction with the prefix, and then the prefix joins it to indicate the same latent meaning.

Endorsing the indicative-ness of prefixes, he also quoted the gloss of Kaiyyaṭa[10] over the *Bhāṣyaṃ* on the aphorism भूवादयो धातवः (1.3.1) that prefix just indicates a particular expression to make the reader/listener understand the contextual shade of meaning and quoted Bhartṛhari to sum up this discussion thus:

धातोः साधनयोगस्य भाविनः प्रक्रमाद्यथा धातुत्वं कर्मभावश्च तथान्यदपि दृश्यताम्।
बुद्धिस्थादभिसम्बन्धात्तथा धातूपसर्गयोः अभ्यन्तरीकृतो भेदः पदकाले प्रकाशते।
(वाक्यपदीयम्, वाक्यकाण्डम् 2.184-185)[11]

Further, by inherent expressiveness of words (शब्दशक्तिस्वाभाव्यात्), prefixes are inseparably dependent on words to reveal a sense (नित्यपरतन्त्राः) and are never used 'as they are' to mean the senses attributed to them. Hence, prefixes are indicative. For example, consider the prefix अपि used in अपिदधाति and अपिधत्ते mean 'to close', 'to conceal' etc. By applying an optional rule[12] ,the elision of the letter 'अ' takes place, rendering these words to sound पिदधाति and पिधत्ते. The meaning remains the same.

If covering or concealing (पिधानम् and आच्छादनम्) were meaning of अपि, how shall the same meaning be conveyed by पिदधाति and पिधत्ते as both have lost the 'अ' and only 'पि' remains?

It cannot be contended that the prefix retains the meaning even after the elision of a part of the prefix, based on the worldly maxim that partial disfiguration doesn't entail an entity taken as another (एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवत्), and that the speaker

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10. पतञ्जलिः। *व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम्* । Pratibha Prakasan, Delhi-1999. Vol. I, pp. 152-176.
11. भर्तृहरिः। *वाक्यपदीयम्*। Part II, वाक्यकाण्डम् with the अम्बाकर्त्री commentary of Raghunatha Sharma. Sampurnananda Sanskrit Viswavidyalaya Press, Varanasi-1980. Ch. 2.184-185.
12. 'वष्टि भागुरिरल्लोपमवाप्योरुपसर्गयोः'

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who has been acquainted with it (बुद्ध्या प्रकल्पितामेदः) will find the same meaning in पिदधाति and पिधत्ते.

On the other hand, it is coherent to state that the meaning actually belongs to the root which prefix अपि brings to light, and that understanding is not affected even if a part thereof is elided. This proposal is more feasible and simple to explain and to understand the multifarious usages of such an expansive language without ambiguity.

So, अपि in this context is used to indicate the inherent पिधानम् and आच्छादनम् conveyed by the root. Similarly, the list of meanings of prefixes given by grammarians and commentators like the *Candrakīrti*[13] commentary of *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa* is nothing but an attempt to gather together, for ease of reference and classification, the senses of the roots to indicate which prefixes are used.

View of Durgācārya, Commentator of the *Nirukta*[14] of Yāsak

Durgācārya opines that prefixes help draw out the meaning of the root by being near them, because the meaning of the word *Upasarga*= prefix itself is that which helps derive the meaning of the root by being in close proximity. This implies that the multiple senses of roots are indicated in the presence of the prefix, like the light that doesn't create anything anew but lights up existing objects.

If prefixes are expressive, they would be used independently, and their derivative history could have been construed like any other meaningful word derived either of a nominal stem (प्रातिपदिकम्) or a verbal root (धातुः),but they are

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13. Anubhuti Swarup Acharya. *सारस्वतव्याकरणम् with the चन्द्रकीर्ति commentary of Sri Chandrakirthi Suri.* Chaukhamba Sanskrit Sansthan, Varanasi. Third Edition-1985.Volume I, Chapter 15 - अथाव्ययानि pp. 187 - 190.
14. Bakshi, M. M. Pandit Mukund Jha [Ed.]. *निरुक्तम् of यास्कमुनिः with the निरुक्तविवृतिः commentary of दुर्गाचार्यः* । Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, Delhi - 2002. Ch. 1-1, pp. 11-13.

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always used in conjunction with a verb to indicate a latent meaning of the root.

Views of Śākaṭāyana[15]

Śākaṭāyana believes that if prefixes are kept apart from the nouns and verbs and arranged like words or in the form of a sentence, they would be just like the letters extricated and kept aloof of a word that do not have the potential to convey any meaning.

Then there could be a doubt as to how they are used in compounds, for compounds require two grammatically agreeable, meaningful terms defined as धातुः (the stem of a root) or प्रातिपदिकम् (the stem of a noun).The answer is that they get the term प्रातिपदिकम् by the 'च' (which means 'also' with which such indispensable terms are gathered together) in the aphorism कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च (1.2.46).

Prefixes indicate the inherent action in the nouns and in the verbs by their presence or concomitance, just as a lamp reveals an object which it doesn't produce. But if set aside, prefixes are meaning-less.

Views of Gārgya

On the other hand, Gārgya[16] opines that prefixes have meaning, in as much as words have variety of meanings. Just as the clay, as a whole, is inherently capable of being made into a pot, so is every particle in it. Similarly,as words have the capability to convey meaning, so do letters in them, though intelligible only when they are combined in a word.

He opposes the example that prefixes in themselves are meaningless like the lamp alone doesn't remain lit bereft of the inevitable components such as the oil, wick etc. saying that the example of lamp (प्रदीपः) given in this context is inappropriate, for even the lamp, with all its constituents, remains lighted to itself while it lights up other objects. In the same way, prefixes have a multitude of inherent meanings with which they contribute to the expression of different

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15. *Ibid.*
16. This view of Gārgya is presented in the निरुक्तम् of यास्कमुनिः and in its commentary of दुर्गाचार्यः। *Ibid.*

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shades of meanings of the nouns and verbs. They convey these meanings even when they stand aloof, such as the meaning of prefixes given by Candrakīrti commentary of *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa.*

Although they are meaningful, they infuse their particular sense with the general sense of the nouns and verbs which are the substrata for prefixes to function and then together they express a complete sense. Hence, the meaning of the verbs is action in general and the meaning of the prefixes is action in particular.

Nevertheless, the view of Śākaṭāyana that prefixes, by concomitance bring out the inherent unique sense of the nouns and verbs, and prefixes that stand apart are meaningless is reasonable.

The view of Gārgya that the meaning of the verbs is action in general and the meaning of the prefixes is action in particular may sound contrary, it can be resolved thus that bereft of prefixes the roots convey the general nature of actions and while in conjunction with the prefixes, they convey the particular nature of actions. Better said, the prefixes stand as indicators and help distinguish the core meaning from the subtle, supplied and implied or contextual from the assorted meanings.

Views of *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣyam*[17]

The *Bhāṣya* on the aphorism भूवादयो धातवः (1.3.1) explains that a prefix is क्रियाविशेषकः (adverb) as प्रतिष्ठते where the root ष्ठा conveys the action of movement as well as the cessation of it. Quoting this *Bhāṣya*, Nāgeśabhaṭṭa[18] says that in the example प्रतिष्ठते, the root ष्ठा itself is conveying the multiple senses while the prefix प्र is employed to indicate the beginning as well as the end of going.

Further, *Bhāṣya* testifies that the assumed meaning of the prefix is nothing but ascribed.

For example, the statement of the *Bhāṣya* in the aphorisms viz., तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य (1.1.66) and तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य (1.1.67) that the prefix निर् in निर्देशः which

17. पतञ्जलिः। *व्याकरणमहाभाष्यम्* । Pratibha Prakasan, Delhi-1999.Vol. I, pp. 152-176.
18. नागेशभट्टः। *op. cit.*

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means someone who has gone out of the देशः stands for 'the state of being outside' (बहिर्भावः). 'The state of being' or भावः, is the primordial meaning of all roots. Therefore, here the prefix निर् is used to indicate 'the state of being outside' which is innately prevalent in the root.

Similarly, the *Bhāṣya* on the aphorism viz., उद्भिभ्यां तपः (1.3.27) that even the intransitive verbs transform into transitive verbs when they are in conjunction with prefixes means that it helps uncover the latent different meaning of the verb which invariably requires an object outside the scope of a subject, as in -

रामः तिष्ठति = Rāma is standing and,
रामः (ग्रामं) प्रतिष्ठते = Rāma is going to the village.

In this, तिष्ठति (standing, not moving) and प्रतिष्ठते (going, moving) are derivatives of the root ष्ठा. In गतिनिवृत्तिः, the result of the action is subject oriented where as in गतिः a destination (an object outside the scope of the subject) is also required. To move and not to move are two different senses and there is the subtle grammatical implication of an intransitive root becoming transitive. Therefore, this mutually related phenomenon of transformation of basic trait and acquisition of a different attribute are facilitated through the addition of a prefix, though the basic trait of the root pertaining to motion is seen latent in the root itself. In fact, wherever the *Ātmanepada* transforms into *Parasmaipada* and vice versa, owing to the association of a prefix, it is the root that is qualified as *Ātmanepada* or *Parasmaipada* and not the prefix.

Poetic musings

रामादेशादनुगता सेना तस्यार्थसिद्धये। पश्चादध्ययनार्थस्य धातोरधिरिभावत्। (रघुवंशम् 15.9)[19]

This verse in Raghuvaṁśa describes the defeat of Lavaṇāsura by Śatrughna. Commentator Mallinātha elaborates that his warriors have accompanied him by the orders of Rāma, and were of use to him only by their presence, for He alone was capable of conquering the enemy, just as the root इङ्, by its own potential, is capable of conveying the meaning, while the prefix अधि added to it helps the root only with its silent presence.

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19. कालिदासः, *op. cit.* Ch. 15.9.

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VARIANT READINGS IN THE TEXT OF THE *KĀŚIKĀVṚTTI* AS NOTED BY THE *PADAMAÑJARĪ*

Malhar Kulkarni* and Eivind Kahrs#

Introduction

In this article, we collect and present all the quotations of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (KV) that contain mention of variant readings as recorded in the text of the *Padamañjarī* (Pm). The purpose of publishing them in this article is to create a reference for future work of textual nature related to the KV. This list is very important as it provides a basis for future research in the field of textual transmission of the KV. We are engaged in the task of editing the text of the KV critically with the help of number of manuscripts found in India as well as abroad. In this task, these quotations, serve the purpose of Testimonia. We aim to present in a separate, future publication how different manuscripts of the KV behave on the texts mentioned below in this list and compare them with the variant reading as recorded by the Pm. This comparison shall give us a clearer picture of the variation in the transmission of the text of the KV as received by the Pm. The transmission of the KV is primarily in written form and not in oral form. Yet the text of the KV, as we know from these variants, seems to be a fluid text whose structure is to a large extent fixed with the scope of accepting new entrants.

This work started during the time when Malhar Kulkarni worked for his doctoral dissertation between 1994-2000. In an appendix to his dissertation, he has presented some variants that he found in the text of the *Nyāsa* (N) and the Pm on the KV on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (A) 2.2. Later in a book that he published

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the nature of the transmission of the text of the KV. In 2014, Kulkarni presented a variant reading noted down in the Pm on the KV on the A. 2.2.31 and studied the manuscript behaviour on this variant reading. He also presented the tree structure in which the manuscript transmission of the KV can be represented. In 2016, Kulkarni Kahrs, presented another set of two variants found mentioned in the Pm on the *Pratyāhāra* section of the KV and studied it in the light of the manuscript readings and again drew tree showing interrelation of manuscripts which represents the transmission of the KV.

This list of variant readings in the Pm, lay prepared for years together. But because of one reason or another it could not fructify in the form of a publication. We feel happy to see that finally the labour of more than 20 years is seeing the light of the day in the form of this publication.

In the introduction of a monograph entitled *The quotations of the Kāśikāvṛtti* (with special reference to the Paninian grammatical literature) published in 2002, Malhar Kulkarni wrote (2002: 11):

There are instances when both N and the Pm record the same *pratīka*. There we can say that both the commentaries received the text of the KV in the similar form. There are also cases where when both these commentaries are silent about certain readings. And when they remain silent about certain important unit of the text, namely, say a *vārtika*, then it increases the probability that, *vārtika* might not have been there at all in the original text of the KV as received by these two commentaries. There are also cases when the *pratīka* recorded by N and Pm vary. ...There is some work which partly deals with the readings of the KV as found in the Pm. I am writing a monograph in which I have collected all such instances.

In the present work, we do not collect all the *pratīkas* of the KV as found in the Pm.

The work is time consuming and very arduous. Like the other work, namely, the quotations of the KV as found in the later grammatical literature of the Paninian tradition which was published in 2002, primary data collection related to this work also took place in various libraries and travels, interna-

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tional as well as national. We also aim at publishing the translation of the quoted sentences from the Pm along with discussion as well as annotation. This we plan to publish in a separate future publication.

The following table presents a statistical picture of these quotations:

Adhyāya	No. of quotations
1	41
2	24
3	49
4	42
5	28
6	69
7	43
8	31
Total	327

We arrange them in the sequence of the *Adhyāyas* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The reference of these quotations, is an edition of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* in six volumes published by Ratna Publications, Varanasi, 1985. In the reference, we mention the *sūtra* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* on which the text of the KV appears; on which when commenting, there appears the variant in the text of the Pm.

Chapter 1

1. वृत्तौ चशब्दो न पठितव्यः एकस्मिन् हि साध्ये हेतुद्वयसमावेशे समुच्चयो भवति। (Vol. I, p. 17)
2. क्वचित्पठ्यते लाघवं भवति इति अपाठ एव ज्यायान्। (Vol. I, p. 17)
3. क्तिचि इति तु युक्त पाठः। (on A. 1.1.58, Vol. I, p. 206)
4. क्वचित्क्षीरोदके इति पाठात् तत्र नियतव्यक्तिविवक्षया जातिपरत्वभावाद् द्विवचनम्। (on A. 1.1.75, Vol. I, p.259)
5. क्वचित् प्रागुदीचाविति पाठः। (on A. 1.1.75, Vol. I, p. 260)
6. प्रागुदीचाविति पाठे समाहारद्वन्द्वः। (on A. 1.1.75, Vol. I, p. 260)
7. क्वचित् प्रागुदीच इति पाठः। (on A. 1.1.75, Vol. I, p. 260)
8. अत्र केचिद् वेति पठन्ति शश्रन्थतुरित्याद्यपि भवति। (on A. 1.2. 6, Vol. I, p. 272)
9. क्वचिदकरणमन्त्र इति पाठः। अनेनेदं कुर्यादिति चोदितः करणमन्त्रः ततोऽन्योऽकरणमन्त्रः। (on A. 1.2.34, Vol. I, p. 318)

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10. प्रसिद्धस्तु पाठोऽन्तः करणमन्त्र इति। (on A. 1.2.34, Vol. I, p. 318)
11. षडोंकारा इति पाठे मूलान्तरम् मृग्यम्। (on A. 1.2.34, Vol. I, p. 319)
12. स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्येति पाठः। (on A. 1.2.48, Vol. I, p. 347)
13. उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तान्तस्येति पाठः। (on A. 1.2.48, Vol. I, p. 347)
14. पूर्वेण ह्रस्वत्वे प्राप्ते इति कचित् पठ्यते तत्र क्वचिदिति विशेषः। (on A. 1.2.49, Vol. I, p. 350)
15. कचित्तु इमे तिष्यपुनर्वसवो मुग्धा इति पठ्यते। (on A. 1.2.63, Vol. I, p. 371)
16. कचित् पुनरधिकोऽपि ग्रन्थः पठ्यते यूनेति सहयोगे एषा तृतीयेति। स इदानीन्तनैः प्रक्षिप्तः। (on A. 1.2.65, Vol. I, p. 380)
17. कचित्तु प्रकृताविति पाठः प्रकृतिः मूलप्रकृतिर्गर्गशब्दादिः। (on A. 1.2.65, Vol. I, p. 381)
18. कचित्तु भू इत्येवमादयः शब्दा इत्यस्यानन्तर क्रियावाचिन इति पठ्यतेः। (on A. 1.3.1, Vol. I, p. 390)
19. प्रतिज्ञानुनासिका इति तु प्रसिद्धः पाठः। (on A. 1.3.2, Vol. I, p. 394)
20. कचित्तु वृत्तावेव इदमस्थमुः इत्युकारानुबन्धनिर्देशादनित्यत्वमुपलक्ष्यते इति पठ्यते। (on A. 1.3.4, Vol. I, p. 398)
21. कचिद् उद्देशिभिर् इति पठ्यते। (on A. 1.3.10, Vol. I, p. 406)
22. केचित्तु विभज्य योगं पठन्ति अन्ये त्वेकमेव। (on A. 1.3.10, Vol. I, p. 407)
23. कचित्तु स्वरितो नाम स्वरदोषो वर्णधर्म इति पाठः। (on A. 1.3.11, Vol. I, p. 408)
24. कचित्तु अटा नास्ति व्यवधानम् इत्येव पाठः। (on A. 1.3.17, Vol. I, p. 419)
25. कचित् मधूनि निविशन्ति भ्रमरा इति शसन्तं पठ्यते। (on A. 1.1.7, Vol. I, p. 419)
26. कचिद् आङो डिद्विशिष्टस्य ग्रहणं किं भिक्षामाददातीति पठ्यते। (on 1.3.20, Vol. I, p. 421)
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6. क्वचित्तु कषति इत्यपि पठ्यते। (on A. 6.1.64, Vol. IV, p. 516)
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56. अत्र केचिदाचार्येण ल्यपि लघुपूर्वस्येतिषष्ठ्यन्तम् अध्यापिताः अन्ये तु पञ्चम्यन्तम्। (on A. 6.4.56, Vol. V, p. 408)

57. आपुलिति पठितव्यम्। (on A. 6.4.56, Vol. V, p. 409)

58. क्वचित्तु माङ्योगेऽपि भवति इति प्रक्रम्य अवाप्सुरिति पठ्यते। तथाध्ययनं तु न क्वचिद्दृष्टम्। (on A. 6.4.75, Vol. V, p. 428)

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65. अनेशमिति तु प्रायेण पाठः। (on A. 6.4.120, Vol. V, p. 472)

66. कचित्पठ्यते यजिवप्योश्च । आयेजे आवेपे। यजेर्वपेश्च लङङि इति छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते इत्य नजादेरप्याडिति। (on A. 6.4.120, Vol. V, p. 473)

67. केचित्तितलिशब्दं पठन्ति। (on A. 6.4.144, Vol. V, p. 491)

68. केचित्तु भूभावमुदाहरन्ति भावयतीति। (on A. 6.4.155, Vol. V, p. 506)

69. कचित्तु मकारलोप इति पठन्ति। (on A. 6.4.175, Vol. V, p. 522)

Chapter 7

1. कचित्तु वृत्तावेव पठ्यते इदमदसोः कादिति नोक्तम् विपरीतोऽनियमः स्यात् इदमदसोरेव कादितीति। (on A. 7.1.11, Vol. V, p. 542)

2. वर्णो वायमित्येव वा पाठः। (on A. 7.1.18, Vol. V, p. 550)

3. तातङि ङित्त्वमित्यादि श्लोकद्वयं कचित्पठ्यते। (on A. 7.1.35, Vol. V, p. 568)

4. तक्ष्ण्वन्तीति प्राप्त इति तु युक्तः पाठः। (on A. 7.1.39, Vol. V, p. 576)

5. यूयं वयमिति प्राप्त इति। प्रमादपाठोऽयम्। (on A. 7.1.39, Vol. V, p. 578)

6. तस्माद् युष्मासु अस्मभ्यमिति युक्तः पाठः। यूयादेश इत्याद्यपि न पठितव्यम्। (on A. 7.1.39, Vol. V, p. 578)

7. बाहुनेति तु युक्तः पाठः। (on A. 7.1.39, Vol. V, p. 579)

8. जुषेरनुदात्तेत्त्वात्जुषध्वमिति प्राप्त इति तु युक्तः पाठः। (on A. 7.1.45, Vol. V, p. 583)

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9. दत्त्वाय सविता धियम् इति क्वचित् पठ्यते। (on A. 7.1.47, Vol. V, p. 585)
10. एवं च तेशब्दो न पठितव्यः। (on A. 7.1.56, Vol. V, p. 592)
11. लम्भो वर्तते। उपसर्गादेव खल्घञोरिति नियमस्य वक्ष्यमाणत्वादपपाठोऽयम्। (on A. 7.1.64, Vol. V, p. 602)
12. अन्ये मध्ये हिशब्दं पठन्ति। (on A. 7.1.73, Vol. V, p. 615)
13. क्वचित्तु सम्बन्धिन इति पठ्यते। (on A. 7.1.81, Vol. V, p. 628)
14. केचिद्व्याख्यमानोऽण् सर्वणान्न गृह्णातीति पठन्ति। (on A. 7.1.85, Vol. V, p. 631)
15. अत्रानन्तरं तस्येति पठितव्यम्। (on A. 7.1.95, Vol. V, p. 640)
16. षष्ठ्यन्तं तु युक्तं पठितुम्। (on A. 7.1.96, Vol. V, p. 643)
17. एवं च पूर्वसूत्रेऽप्याद्यग्रन्थे तस्येति न पठितव्यम्। (on A. 7.1.96, Vol. V, p. 643)
18. क्वचित्तु वृत्तावेवैतत्पठ्यते। (on A. 7.1.100, Vol. V, p. 648)
19. सुस्मूर्षतीति। स्मृ चिन्तायाम्। सुस्वूर्षतीतिपाठे स्वृ शब्दोपतापयोः सनीवन्तर्धेत्यादिनेडभावपक्षे रूपम्। पूर्व एव तु युक्तः पाठः पृथगुदाहरणस्य वक्ष्यमाणत्वात्। (on A. 7.1.101, Vol. V, p. 649)
20. क्वचिद् रुरुदिव रुरुदिमेति लिटि पठ्यते तदयुक्तम् ऋदिनियमादेवेटः सिद्धत्वात्। (on A. 7.2.8, Vol. V, p. 664)
21. अस्य पुनः पाठो निगदव्याख्यानतां दर्शयितुं द्रष्टव्यः। अन्ये तु पूर्वं न पठन्ति। (on A. 7.2.10, Vol. V, p. 669)
22. रुधिः सराधिरिति।... क्वचित्तु तथैव पाठः। (on A. 7.2.10, Vol. V, p. 673)
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24. तिपिक्षिपी इति पाठः। (on A. 7.2.10, Vol. V, p. 674)
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27. एवं चोत्तरग्रन्थे चकारो न पठितव्यः। (on A. 7.2.16, Vol. V, p. 689)
28. ण्यन्तं पठितव्यम्। अण्यन्तपाठे तु विगृह्येति क्त्वाप्रत्ययो न स्यात् असमानकर्तृकत्वात्। (on A. 7.2.21, Vol. V, p. 697)
29. क्वचित्पठ्यते ज्ञपेर्भरज्ञपिसनामिति विकल्पविधानाद्यस्य विभाषेतीट्प्रतिषेधे प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थं निपातनम्। (on A. 7.2.27, Vol. V, p. 703)
30. अत्रातिस्तीर्षतीति परस्मैपदपाठो न युक्तः। (on A. 7.2.41, Vol. V, p. 721)
31. एवं नेयमिति पठितव्यम् पूर्वानुसारेण गम्यमानत्वान्न पठितम्। (on A. 7.2.97, Vol. V, p. 780)

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32. रादेशात्पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुमिति क्वचित्पठ्यते। (on A. 7.2.99, Vol. V, p. 785)
33. यदा तु सुहृदयस्येदमिति पाठः तदा हृदयस्य हृल्लेख इत्यादिना हृद्भावः। (on A. 7.3.19, Vol. VI, p. 24)
34. कल्याण्यादिषु परस्त्रीशब्दः पठ्यते तस्मात् कल्याण्यादीनामिनङिति पाठः। (on A. 7.3.20, Vol. VI, p. 27)
35. विश्रान्तिभूमिरिति पठितव्यमित्यर्थः। (on A. 7.3.34, Vol. VI, p. 40)
36. क्वचित्तु पठ्यते यथासंख्यमत्र नेष्यते तेन रक्तं रागादिति लिङ्गादिति। (on A. 7.3.52, Vol. VI, p. 65)
37. पूर्वस्मिन् पक्षे ह्रस्वान्तावेतौ पठन्ति। (on A. 7.3.80, Vol. VI, p. 89)
38. क्वचिदुपधात्र इत्यादेर्ग्रन्थस्य पुरस्ता संयोगे गुरुसंज्ञायामिति श्लोकत्रयं पठ्यते। (on A. 7.3.86, Vol. VI, p. 97)
39. लघोश्चासाविति पाठे लघूपधाच्चासौ तृज्विहित इत्यर्थः। (on A. 7.3.86, Vol. VI, p. 97)
40. प्रायेण तु अभ्यनुज्ञायते इति लडन्तं पठ्यते न तत्र समीचीनोऽर्थः क्रियमाणानुवादे हि लड् भवति। अन्ये तु व्याचक्षते आदेशान्तरनिवृत्त्यर्थं स्वरुपमेवाभ्यनुज्ञायत इत्येवम् आपद्यतेति। (on A. 7.4.7, Vol. VI, p. 137)
41. अन्ये त्वत्रापि ह्रस्वत्वं पठन्ति। (on A. 7.4.23, Vol. VI, p. 149)
42. प्रायेण तु प्रकृत्य प्रहृत्येति पाठः। (on A. 7.4.25, Vol. VI, p. 151)
43. दुष्टीयितेति प्राप्ते इति। भाषायां प्राप्तिरुच्यते तत्र उप्रत्ययाभावात् तस्त्समानार्थस् तृच्प्रयुक्तः। प्रायेण तु लडन्तं पठ्यते तत्र प्रकृतिमात्रे तात्पर्यम्। (on A. 7.4.36, Vol. VI, p. 157-8)

Chapter 8

1. उदित्यं जातवेदसम् इति क्वचिदुदाहृतं तदयुक्तम्। (on A. 8.1.6, Vol. VI, p. 235)
2. क्वचित्तु सामर्थ्यादित्यादि न पठ्यते। (on A. 8.1.6, Vol. VI, p. 235)
3. क्वचित्तु एकतिङ्पदसमूहो वाक्यमिति पठ्यते। क्वचित्तु न किञ्चिदपि वाक्यलक्षणं पठ्यते। (on A. 8.1.8, Vol. VI, p. 237)
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5. प्रायेण मिथुनायन्ते इति क्यङन्तं पठ्यते। (on A. 8.1.15, Vol. VI, p. 257)
6. भवतीह विष्णुमित्रः देवदत्तागच्छ... क्वचिदेतदुदाहरणं न पठ्यते। (on A. 8.1.19, Vol. VI, p. 265)
7. प्रशाधीति प्रायेण पाठः स न युक्तः। सोपसर्गत्वेनोत्तरसूत्रविषयत्वात्। (on A. 8.1.52, Vol. VI, p. 296)
8. क्वचित्तु वृत्तावेवैतत् पठ्यते। (on A. 8.1.62, Vol. VI, p. 306)
9. प्रायेण पूतिरिति पुंल्लिङ्गं पठ्यते। (on A. 8.1.69, Vol. VI, p. 315)
10. वृत्तौ त्वन्यथा पाठः शाखान्तरे द्रष्टव्यः। (on A. 8.1.73, Vol. VI, p. 327)

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11. शर्मण्या इति पाठे शर्मणि साधवः शर्मण्याः। (on A. 8.1.74, Vol. VI, p. 328)
12. उत्तर उत्तरो योगः इति पाठः। (on A. 8.2.1, Vol. VI, p. 330)
13. स उदात्तेनेत्यत इति पाठः। (on A. 8.2.3, Vol. VI, p. 346)
14. अत्रेतिशब्दः पठितव्यः अपरे त्वाहुरित्युपक्रमात्। (on A. 8.2.12, Vol. VI, p. 370)
15. क्वचित्तु नायं ग्रन्थः पठ्यते। (on A. 8.2.37, Vol. VI, p. 402)
16. अविवक्षितत्वेति पाठः। (on A. 8.2.46, Vol. VI, p. 413)
17. केचिदत्राप्युकारं दपरं पठन्ति... अदपरपाठस्तु भद्रः। (on A. 8.2.80, Vol. VI, p. 443)
18. स्थालिन्निति पाठः न तु स्थालीवदिति। (on A. 8.2.83, Vol. VI, p. 451)
19. तासामिति पाठे तासां याज्यानामन्तः। (on A. 8.2.91, Vol. VI, p. 460)
20. क्वचित्त्वयं ग्रन्थो न पठ्यते अन्ते तु पठ्यते। (on A. 8.2.94, Vol. VI, p. 463)
21. क्वचित्पठ्यते नानेन प्लुतो विधीयते किन्तु दूराद्धूतादिषुविहितस्य अनन्त्यस्यापि प्रश्नाख्यानयोरिति स्वरितप्लु तस्यानुदात्तत्वं गुणमात्रं विधीयते इति। (on A. 8.2.100, Vol. VI, p. 467)
22. क्वचिद्धृत्तावप्ययं ग्रन्थः पठ्यते। (on A. 8.2.104, Vol. VI, p. 470)
23. यत्रः विसर्जनीयः पठ्यते तत्र नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि इति प्रत्ययसकारस्य षत्वम्। षकारद्वयपाठे तु पूर्ववद्विसर्जनीयस्य सत्त्वं परस्य पूर्ववदेव षत्त्वं पूर्वस्य ष्टुत्वम्। (on A. 8.3.16, Vol. VI, p. 498)
24. अन्ये तु ग्रन्थमिमं न पठन्ति। (on A. 8.3.30, Vol. VI, p. 511)
25. क्वचित्तु मुहुस्कामेति सत्त्वं पठ्यते सोऽपपाठः। (on A. 8.3.41, Vol. VI, p. 525)
26. क्वचित्पठ्यते पाताविति धातुनिर्देशः। (on A. 8.3.52, Vol. VI, p. 540)
27. तस्मात् सह डेन वर्तत इति सड इति पाठः। (on A. 8.3.56, Vol. VI, p. 542)
28. क्वचित्त्विदमपि वृत्तावेवास्ति। (on A. 8.3.106, Vol. VI, p. 592)
29. क्वचित्तु आङ्ग्रहणं पदव्यवायेऽपीत्यस्य बाधनार्थमित्येतावत्पठ्यते। (on A. 8.4.2, Vol. VI, p. 604)
30. उपसर्गादनोत्पर इति पाठान्तरम्। (on A. 8.4.28, Vol. VI, p. 636)
31. प्रमङ्क्नमिति पाठे तु मण्डनार्थः। (on A. 8.4.32, Vol. VI, p. 640)

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લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કોમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કોમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. અસ્વીકૃત લેખો પરત મોકલવામાં આવશે નહીં.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કોપીરાઈટ પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : **શ્વેતા પ્રજાપતિ**

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

\+ ભારતમાં ..... રૂા. ૧૫૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

\+ પરદેશમાં ..... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઓફ અમેરિકા માટે ..... ૫૦.૦૦ ડૉલર વાર્ષિક (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમવર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.
ફોન નં: ૦૨૬૫-૨૪૨૫૧૨૧

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CULTURAL, LITERARY AND MEDICINAL EVALUATION OF *AŚOKA* (*SARACA INDICA* L.) AS DESCRIBED IN SANSKRIT TEXTS

Dhananjay Vasudeo Dwivedi*

Introduction

Description of Goddess Nature has found prominent place in Sanskrit literature. Books on *Kāvyaśāstra* have made it clear that no poetic creation would be complete without portrayal of Nature. Plants are significant parts of Nature. And, hence they have been well described in Sanskrit Literature. Among many plants that found description in this literature, is *Aśoka*. It is one of the plants, which finds mention right from the *Rāmāyaṇa* age and continues to be popular with same name till date. Be it a Āyurvedic Literature, Epics & Purāṇas or classical Sanskrit literature, this plant has been well mentioned for its cultural and medicinal properties. *Aśoka* trees with its rich red blossoms shines like a young warrior bathed in sanguine shower of furious fight. No wonder, the *Aśoka* was held in high esteem, that no garden was regarded complete without it in those joyful days of India. Botanical name of *Aśoka* is *Saraca Indica* Linn. According to modern day scientists this herb belongs to *Caesalpiniaceae* family. However, in Āyurveda Literature it has been placed in *Āmrādivarga*.[1]

Botanical Description

Aśoka is a small evergreen tree having height of 6 to 9 m. Bark on old stems is dark green in colour, often marked by bluish and ash white patches of lichens. Leaves are alternate, paripinnate, copper red when young and green when mature, and 15-20 cm long, leaflets 6-12, oblong, lanceolate. Flowers are orange or orange-

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1 *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu*-p.16

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yellow very fragrant; arranged in dense axillary corymbose cymes. The pods flat, black, leathery; seeds 4-8 seeded, dehiscent and 30–60 cm long, and tapering at both ends. Seeds are ellipsoid–oblong and compressed.

Geographical Distribution

Aśoka is distributed throughout India, along steams or in the shade of evergreen forests. It occurs almost throughout India up to an altitude of 750 m in the centre and eastern Himalayas and Khasi, Garo and Lushai hills. It is also found in the Andaman Islands. It is grown as an avenue tree due to its foliage and fragrant flowers.

Ecological Requirements

The plant requires slightly acidic to neutral soils for good growth with medium to deep well drained fertile soils. It grows well in tropical to sub-tropical situations under irrigation. *Aśoka* grows well in moist tropical areas with well-distributed rainfall. It also thrives well in partially shaded locations.

Propagation

Seeds are the most suitable propagation material. Mature seeds are collected from more than five- to six-year-old plants in December– January.

Synonyms of *Aśoka*:

There are numbers of synonyms for this *Aśoka*. According to *Rāja Nighaṇṭu*, there are twenty two synonyms for *Aśoka*. These are- *Aśoka, Śokanāśa, Viśoka, Vañjuladruma, Madhupuṣpa, Apaśoka, Kaṅkeli, Kelika, Raktapallava, Citra, Vicitra, Karṇapūraka, Subhaga, Smarādhivāsa, Doṣahārī, Prapallava, Rāgītaru, Hemapuṣpa, Rāmavāmāṅghrighātaka, Piṇḍipuṣpa, Naṭa* and *Pallavadru*- all these twenty two names are synonymous to Aśoka.[2]

Each and every synonym of *Aśoka* has special significance. There are reasons for being called so, which would be clear from the table 1 given below-

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2 *Rājanighaṇṭuḥ, Kāravīrādivarga*, 53-55

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Table 1

Synonym of *Aśoka*	Reason for being called so
अशोक, शोकनाश, विशोक, अपशोक	It does not cause sorrow or does away with grief- न शोकोऽस्मत् शोकनाशन इत्यर्थः ।
ताम्रपल्लव	Tender leaves of this plant are coppery red coloured- ताम्रवर्णाः पल्लवा अस्य ।
मधुपुष्प	Flowers of the plant come out in the spring season- मधौ वसन्ते पुष्पयति ।
कंकेलि	It generates pleasure- कं सुखं केलति जनयति आह्लादकरः ।
रक्तपल्लव	Tender leaves of this plant is somewhat red in colour- रक्तवर्णाः पल्लवाः अस्य
चित्र	This plant is very wonderful and bright. It has an extraordinary appearance.
कर्णपूरक	It is used as an ornament worn round the ear.
सुभग	It has a beautiful look and its sight is considered to be very lucky.
स्मराधिवास	It is considered to be abode of remembrance and love.
दोषहारि	It does away with *doṣas* that causes health problems in the body.
गन्धपुष्प	Flowers of this plant is aromatic in nature- सुगन्धिपुष्पत्वात् ।
हेमपुष्प	Flowers of this tree has golden lustre- स्वर्णाभानि पुष्पाण्यस्य ।
पिण्डिपुष्प	The plant has flowers in dense clusters-पिण्डाकाटः सघनाः पुष्पगुच्छा अस्य
स्त्रीप्रियः	The plant is liked by women and is also useful in treating gynaecological disorders- स्त्रीणां प्रियः स्त्रीरोगेषु हितत्वात् ।

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In some of the names mentioned above, one can curiously observe that there are indications to the relation between the womenfolk and this tree. It has been a very old belief that the very touch of the female feet causes the *Aśoka* tree to the blossom. This very fact has been aptly stated in the poems-

असूत सद्यः कुसुमान्यशोकः ..... पादेन नापैक्षत सुन्दरीणां सम्पर्कमाशिर्जितनूपुरेण ।[3]

Cultural Values of *Aśoka*:

Going by the Sanskrit Literature one would find that it is replete with the facts that highlight the cultural importance of the herb-*Aśoka*.

The *Aśoka* tree is sacred to Hindus and is planted near temples. It is name of a tree believed to be dear to Śiva, and hence considered sacred. Hindu women over the ages have been associated with constancy and chastity. They have worshipped it with full devotion.[4] Among various names of Lord Viṣṇu, one name is *Aśoka*. According to *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, this tree is also related to Mahādeva. The *Śāktas* before worshipping Goddess Durgā, worship *Navapatrikā*, i.e. leaves of nine different trees. *Aśoka* is one of them. The handsome orange-red flowers are used in temple decoration. *Vāmana Purāṇa* suggests of these flowers for worshipping Lord Viṣṇu.

The tree is considered as a symbol of love and dedicated to Kāmadeva. Due to extraordinary beauty the plant is associated with cupid and its flowers are mentioned as one of its five arrows-

अरविन्दमशोकं च चूतं च नवमल्लिका । नीलोत्पलं च पञ्चैते पञ्चबाणस्य सायकाः ॥[5]

Discussing the cultural significance of *Aśoka*, *Agni Purāṇa* says that the most elevated existence in the next world is secured by worshipping the God with bunches of flowers of *Aśoka*.[6] A woman, whose issues die in childhood, should

3 *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 65

4 *A Concise Encyclopaedia of Hinduism* (Vol 1), p. 176

5 Apte Vaman Shivram, *Sanskrit-Hindi Śabdakośa*, Kamal Prakashan, p.602

6 *Agnipurāṇa*-202.5-6

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perform the rite under the boughs of an *Aśoka* tree- अशोकसन्निधौ स्मायाज्जातो यस्या विनश्यति ।[7]

The same *Agni Purāṇa* adds that oblations of *Aśoka* flowers would be rewarded with the birth of a son- अशोकैः पुत्रलाभः स्यात् ।[8]

The cultural importance of this tree could be understood with the fact that *Tīrthas* are named before this tree. *Aśoka Tīrtha* is mentioned time and again in Sanskrit Literature. Description of *Aśoka Tīrtha* is found in *Varāha Purāṇa*. Varāha says to Earth-O Earth! I am describing you about a mystery. Hear it-There is a *Tīrtha* named *Aśoka Tīrtha*. There is one *Aśoka* tree. I am telling you about is fruits-

अशोकं नाम तीर्थं तु अशोकं तत्र तिष्ठति । तस्य व्याप्तिं प्रवक्ष्यामि तच्छृणुष्व वसुन्धरे ॥[9]

If a person with unflinching devotion for me bathes in this *Tīrtha* at any time, he goes abode of Gods (heaven) and remain there for ten thousand years-

अनन्यमानसो भूत्वा भक्तो भागवतो मम । यस्तु स्नाति तत्र तीर्थे कदाचिदपि मानवः ॥ दशवर्षसहस्राणि मोदते ह्यमरालये ।[10]

At the termination of his period in heaven, he is born again as virtuous and wealthy devotee-

ततः स्वर्गात् परिभ्रष्टस्तस्य तीर्थस्य यत्फलम् । द्रव्यवान् गुणवांश्चैव मद्भक्तश्चैव जायते ॥[11]

Skanda Purāṇa also mentions this *Tirtha*. It says that there is a *Tīrtha* named *Aśoka Tīrtha*. A man who bathes there never falls into the ocean of misery.[12]

According to *Padma Purāṇa*, the planting of *Aśoka* tree leads to destruction of all sorrow. [13] According to *Matsya Purāṇa*, a house with the following trees in its

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7 *Ibid*-265.3

8 *Ibid* -309.14

9 *Varāhapurāṇa*-125.45

10 *Ibid*-125.46

11 *Ibid*-125.47

12 *Skanda Mahāpurāṇa*- 4.2.83.92

13 *Padma Purāṇa-Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa-26*

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vicinity is very auspicious, viz. *Aśoka, Punnāga, Bakula, Śamī, Tilaka* etc. *Śrīkṛṣṇajanma Khaṇḍa* of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* refers that among many other trees *Aśoka* always brings peace and does well.[14] The tree is also called *Kalpavṛkṣa*.

Aśoka is considered to be remitter of sin. *Skanda Purāṇa* suggests nurturing *Aśoka* in residential premises if one wishes get rid of sins. God Viṣṇu has described as to how or by virtue of which having an *Aśoka* tree can produce relatively more results. This is by fasting on the 12th day and then having food after completing the religious duties associated with the observance of the 12th day. This *Skanda Purāṇa* mentions that by doing so one can definitely attain the Supreme position as of Viṣṇu. Rearing up an *Aśoka* tree in one's residential premises means, in the stage of life as a householder, his house has turned into a place of pilgrimage and penance and source of liberation. Service of *Aśoka* tree is difficult to obtain.[15]

Aśoka tree has attained a highly venerated position among the rituals of Indian tradition. The sixth day in the dark half and the same day in bright half of the month of Caitra are intended for observance of this popular rite *Aśokaṣaṣṭhī*. Goddess Ṣaṣṭhī is worshipped in expectation that she would do well to the kiddies. The idea is given in following verses-

चैत्रे मास्यसिते पक्षे षष्ठ्यां षष्ठीं प्रपूजयेत् । सुखाय पुत्रलाभाय शुक्लपक्षे तथैव च ॥[16]

Another important rite is *Aśokatrirātri vrata*. Its avowed aim is to dispel sorrow from the minds of the afflicted-

अस्त्यशोकत्रिरात्राख्यं व्रतं शोकभयापहम् । त्रिरात्रं तच्च कर्तव्यं व्रतं शोकविनाशनम् ॥[17]

Aśokāṣṭamī is also another *vrata* related to the *Aśoka* tree. It is celebrated on the eighth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Caitra. The flowers of the *Aśoka* tree have been especially recommended for worship, Goddess Durgā being

14 *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*-102
15 *Skanda Mahāpurāṇa*-7.4.25
16 *Vācaspatyam*, p. 485
17 *Ibid*

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the deity of worship. The day is considered doubly sacred if it happens to be a Wednesday with *Punarvasu Nakṣatra*. On this day, housewives believe that, by eating tiny buds of the *Aśoka* tree they will be free from sorrow. A bath in the Brahmaputra river on this day is considered as very sacred, yielding the same fruit as performance of the *Vājapeya* sacrifice.[18]

Almost same kind of *Vrata* is observed on the *Pūrṇimā* of Phālguna. According to the Hindu sacred texts and Purāṇas, Lord Śrī Rāma preformed the *Aśokāṣṭamī pūjā* in order to slay demon Rāvaṇa. *Aśokāṣṭamī* is the day when Lord Śrī Rāmacandra got rid of sorrow by the blessing of Lord Śiva and the Mother Goddess Śakti.

Going by the Sanskrit texts it is quite evident that the *Aśoka* plant is significant from astrological point of view. According to these texts, the problems due to the bad radiations of different planets are relieved well by taking bath under the *Aśoka* plant.[19] For those who have negative situations of the mercury planet in their horoscopes or those who have problems of speech and intelligence should take bath under *Aśoka* tree to get betterments. The person who has taken birth in *Pūrvāṣāḍa Nakṣatra* should plant within the limits of his house or somewhere outside to get favours of different planets. *Tantraśāstra* describes that if *Aśoka* plant is present in the north of premises or within the premises of the same remain free from undue events and problems.[20] Varāhmihira in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* says-*Ariṣṭa, Aśoka, Punnāga, Śirīṣa, Priyaṅgu* should be planted in the garden or in the house as pre-eminently conducive to the welfare of house-

अरिष्टाशोकपुन्नागशिरीषाः सप्रियङ्गवः । मङ्गल्याः पूर्वमारामे रोपणीया गृहेषु वा ॥[21]

It further describes along with other trees, "the banks must be shaded with *Aśoka* tree". This plant should be on the *agnikoṇa* of the *vedī*.

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18 *A Concise Encyclopaedia of Hinduism* (Vol 1), p. 176

19 *Miraculous Plants*, p. 2

20 *Ibid*, p. 3

21 *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*-55.3

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Literary Mention of *Aśoka*-

Literary works in Sanskrit have mentioned this tree prominently and frequently. The most prominent mention of *Aśoka* is in *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is found in *Pañcavaṭī*.[22] The *Pañcavaṭī* consists of the *Aśvattha* tree planted on the East side, the *Bilva* on the North, the *Vaṭa* on the West, *Āmalakī* on the South and *Aśoka* on the South-east. The *Skanda Purāṇa* recommends a *Bilva* in the centre, and four others on four sides, four *Vaṭas* in four corners, twenty five *Aśokas* in a circle, with myrobalan on one side, as the constituents of a great *Pañcavaṭī*. This tree is considered to be dispeller of grief. While inquiring of the trees about the whereabouts of Sītā, Rāma says-

अशोक शोकापनुद शोकोपहतचेतनम् । त्वन्नामानं कुरु क्षिप्रं प्रियासंदर्शनेन माम् ॥[23]

i.e. O *Aśoka* tree, the dispeller of grief by bringing my darling clearly to my view, make me whose understanding has been clouded by grief, your namesake soon by riding me of my grief.

After making Mother Sītā captive, the Demon Rāvaṇa kept her in *Aśokavāṭikā*. He had said-"Let the princess of Mithilā be taken to the heart of *Aśoka* grove"-

अशोकवनिकामध्ये मैथिली नीयतामिति ।[24]

As described in *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Aśoka* grove encompassed with trees yielding all one's desire and laden with flowers and fruits of every description and inhabited by birds remaining in heat every moment.[25]

While searching Sītā, mighty Hanumān surveyed marvellous *Aśoka* grove. It was rendered noisy by birds was surrounded on all sides with golden and silvery trees and looked variegated with birds and herds of deer; which consisted of lovely thickets and with its reddish flowers like the sun just risen; which was fringed with trees of various kinds laden with flowers and fruits, and was ever inhabited by cuckoos and king bees in heat; which filled men with delight at all times and

22 *Rāmāyaṇa*-3.15.17
23 *Ibid*-3.60.17
24 *Ibid*-3.56.30
25 *Ibid*-3.56.32-33

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overwhelmed deer and birds with heat and which was made noisy by peacocks in heat and was full of birds of every species. While searching for that irreproachable princess of excellent limbs, the monkey woke the birds sweetly lying asleep. Buffeted by flocks of the birds with winds while moving on their wings, the trees in *Aśoka* grove released showers of flowers of various kinds and different colours. Covered with those flowers, Hanumān, sprung from the loins of the wind-god, looked charming like a mountain of flowers in the midst of the *Aśoka* grove. Beholding the monkey stationed in a cluster of trees after running in all directions, all living beings in the *Aśoka* garden thought it was spring incarnate. Strewn with flowers of various kinds fallen from the trees, the earth there shone like a young woman richly adorned.[26]

The *Aśoka* grove was adorned with trees intertwined with *Santānaka* climbers and enriched with celestial odours and delicious substances, and had been decorated from all sides, and as such closely resembled the *Nandana* grove in paradise; which was full of animals and birds and crowded with mansions and palaces and resounded with the notes of cuckoos; which was graced with large oblong wells containing golden water lilies, and lotuses furnished with numerous seats and carpets and provided with many storeyed buildings; which was embellished with lovely trees flowering in every season and laden with fruit and which in loveliness of *Aśoka* trees in blossom scattered the splendour of sunrise and looked inflamed as it were, and the boughs of whose trees were being repeatedly divested of their leaves as it were by birds even as they flew away from them. Adorned with wonderful *Aśoka* trees, which by virtue of their crest like flowers falling down in hundreds appeared as though made of flowers from their very roots and dispelled all grief.[27]

In the *Aśokavāṭikā*, *Aśoka* trees stood there in thousands, some of which shone brightly as gold, others were resplendent as flames of fire, while others were dark as collyrium. The *Aśoka* garden was delightful as the *Nandana*, the garden of Gods, and lovely as the *Caitratha* grove of Kubera, nay far superior to the two aforesaid

26 *Ibid*-5.14.5-13

27 *Ibid*-5/15/2-8

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groves as it were, and was inconceivable, wonderful and invested with charming splendour.[28]

Aśoka grove was adorned with trees of all species bearing all kinds of flowers and fruit, and was surrounded by lotus pools; nay which was graced with various flowers and rendered picturesque by most wonderful birds ever in heat, which was crowded with artificial deer ravishing the eyes and mind; which was decorated with archways of gold and gems, was filled with herds of deer of every species and carpeted with the fruits fallen from above and was ever full of trees.[29]

Aśoka is a *dohadavṛkṣa*-longing tree. It is a poetic convention that the *Aśoka* requires to be struck by beautiful damsels with their feet adorned by tinkling anklet bells, so that it is able to put forth blossoms-

सनूपुररवेण स्त्रीचरणेनाभिताडनम् । दोहदं यदशोकस्य ततः पुष्पोद्गमो भवेत् ॥[30]

Women are very fond of adorning themselves in various ways. *Aśoka* leaves are described to have used by women for decorating their ears. A number of *anyokti*-verses have been composed centring *Aśoka* tree referring to its high fortune of being a *dohadavṛkṣa* and having its wish fulfilled by pretty dames.[31]

The young leaves of *Aśoka* having reddish tinge were used as ornament of ears which seemed as if they were bundle of rays of *Kaustubha* jewel- कौस्तुभगर्भस्तिस्तबकेनैव च श्रवणलग्नेनाशोककिसलयेनालंकृतम् ।[32] These were also used for decoration in ceremonies along with leaves of Mango- चूताशोकपल्लवलांछितशिखरानुद्वाहवितर्दिकास्तम्भान् ।[33] The red *Aśoka* trees flower in spring season- मधुमासदिवसमिव विकसिताशोकषाटलम् ।[34] *Raghuvaṃśam* also comes up with the fact-

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28 *Ibid* -5/15/11-12

29 *Ibid* -5/18/8-9

30 *Kumārasambhavam*-quoted in Mallinātha's commentary on 3.26

31 *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāram*-5.74-77

32 *Harṣacaritam*, Third *Ucchvāsa*, line 2, p. 195

33 *Ibid*, Fourth *Ucchvāsa*, line 9, p. 243

34 *Kādambarī* p. 242

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कुसुममेव न केवलमार्तवं नवमशोकतरोः स्मरदीपनम् ।
किसलयप्रसवोऽपि विलासिनां मदयिता दयिताश्रवणार्पितः ॥[35]

i.e. Not only did the fresh spring-tide blossoms of the *Aśoka* excite love in the hearts of the gallants but even the tender shoots thereof which their loved ones wore as ear drops smote their heart with passion.

Goddess Pārvatī used the leaves of *Aśoka* as an ornament. The red flowers have been simulated with the fire flame-

समुत्सर्प च वेल्लितारुणशिखापल्लवस्य शिखिनः कुसुमायुध इव रतिद्वितीयो रक्ताशोकस्य समीपम् ।[36]

An *Aśoka* tree would profusely bloom, if touched by a beautiful damsel with her leg-

प्रशस्तं चाप्यशोकानां कामिनीपादताडनम् ।[37]

Therapeutic Uses

Aśoka is one of the cardinal herbs recommended in scriptures of *Āyurveda* for umpteen gynaecological problems in women. Stem bark of *Aśoka* tree is strongly astringent and a uterine sedative, uterine tonic used to treat menorrhagia, leucorrhoea, internal bleeding, hemorrhoids, and hemorrhagic dysentery. It is also useful in dyspepsia, fever, and burning sensation. The flowers are considered to be a uterine tonic and are used in cases like burning sensation, dysentery, hyperdypsia, scabiesin children and inflammation. It is also used in fever, dipsia, colic, ulcers and pimples. Crushed flowers and leaves are rubbed on the skin to get relief from skin diseases. The dried flowers are used in diabetes and haemorrhagic dysentery and seeds are used for curing bone fractures, strangury and vesical calculi. The bark is much used by native physicians in uterine affections.

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35 *Raghuvaṃśam*, 9.28

36 *Harṣacaritam*, fourth *ucchvāsa*, line 7, p. 253

37 *Agnipurāṇa*-247.30

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Caraka Saṃhitā describes *Aśoka* as an astringent and analgesic agent.[38] The author further refers to its use in skin diseases including leprosy.[39] Discussing seasonal regimen, *Suśruta Saṃhitā* says that in the Spring Season the directions are clear and decorated with forests full of the flowering *Kiṃśuka, Ambhoja, Bàkula,* Mangoes, *Aśoka* etc. trees-

दिशो वसन्ते विमलाः काननैरुपशोभिताः ।
किंशुकाम्भोजबकुलचूताशोकादिपुष्पितैः ॥[40]

Classifying the drugs, *Suśruta Saṃhitā* says that *Aśoka* falls in *Lodhrādi* group. Apart from *Aśoka*, other drugs of this group are *Lodhra, Sāvaralodhra, Palāśa, Kuṭannaṭa, Phañjī, Kaṭphala, Elavāluka, Śallakī, Jiṅgini, Kadamba, Śāla* and *Kadalī*. This group of drugs pacifies *medas* and *kapha* and cures gynaecological disorders; these are astringent, improve complexion and counteract poisons-

एष रोध्रादिरित्युक्तो मेदः कफहरो गणः । योनिदोषहरः स्तम्भी वर्ण्यो विषविनाशनः ॥ [41]

If granulation tissue in the ulcerative lesion is soft hardening procedures would be beneficial. Finely powdered *Dhava, Priyaṅgu, Aśoka, Rohiṇi* bark, *Triphalā, Dhātakī* flowers, *Rodhra* and *Sarjarasa* in equal proportions should be sprinkled over the ulcers for the purpose-

व्रणेषु मृदुमांसेषु दारुणीकरणं हितम् । धवप्रियङ्ग्वशोकानां रोहिण्याश्च त्वचस्तथा ॥
त्रिफलाधातकीपुष्परोध्रसर्जरसान् समान् । कृत्वा सूक्ष्माणि चूर्णानि व्रणं तैरवचूर्णयेत् ॥[42]

Aśoka is one of the ingredients of *Kalyāṇaka* salt. This salt is indicated as a drink and with food in *vātika* diseases and for the patients of abdominal swellings, splenic enlargement, weak digestion, dyspepsia, piles and anorexia complicated with cough etc. and worms.[43]

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38 *Caraka Saṃhitā, Sūtrasthānam*.4.47
39 *Ibid, Cikitsāsthānam*.7.144
40 *Suśruta Saṃhitā, Sūtrasthānam*. 6.27
41 *Ibid, Sūtrasthānam*. 38.14-15
42 *Ibid, Cikitsāsthanām*. 38.14-15
43 *Ibid, Cikitsāsthanām*. 4.32

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The flowers of *Kubjaka, Aśoka, Śāla, Āmra, Priyaṅgu, Nalina* and *Utpala* together with *Hareṇu, Pippalī, Harītakī* and *Āmalakī* powdered and mixed with honey and *ghṛta* should be stored in a tube of a hollow bamboo. This collyrium should be used by a physician for the treatment of *pittavidagdha dṛṣṭi* and *kaphavidagdha dṛṣṭi*.[44]

Vāgbhaṭa refers the use of *Aśoka* seeds in the treatment of cough.[45] In *Pradara* (meno-metrorrhagia) one should take cold milk boiled with decoction of *Aśoka* bark- अशोकवल्कलक्काथशृतं दुग्धं सुशीतलम् । यताबलं पिबेत् प्रातस्तीव्रासृग्दरनाशनम् ॥ [46]

Yogaratnākara deals in one chapter on the diseases of women, refers the powdered bark of *Aśoka* along with honey in the treatment of uterine bleeding-

अशोकवल्कलं पिष्ट्वा सताचर्यं तण्डुलाम्भसा । सक्षौद्रं तद्रसं पीत्वा प्रदरान्मुच्यतेऽङ्गना ॥[47]

In *Nighaṇṭu* period more direct references are available regarding the use of *Aśoka* in uterine disorders and other health related problems. *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu* says that *Aśoka* is a cooling agent, sweet, aromatic and a cardiac tonic. It cures haemorrhoids, worms, scrofulous glands, wounds, ulcers and fractures of bones.[48]

According to *Rāja Nighaṇṭu, Aśoka* is cooling cardiotonic, and it alleviates *pitta,* burning and fatigue. It quells *gulma* (false abdominal lumps due to wind), colics and flatulence in abdomen. It causes worms to proliferate.[49]

Several commentators are of opinion that there should be *Kṛmihārajaḥ* in place of *Kṛmikārakaḥ. Dhanvatari Nighaṇṭu* has already mentioned *Aśoka* as *Kṛmīn hanti*. If considered *Kṛmihārajaḥ,* it can be said that *Aśoka* is wormicidal.[50]

According to *Kaiyadeva Nighaṇṭu* it is cool, astringent, bitter and grasping. It is helpful in maintaining fair complexion. It plays an important role in curing

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44 *Ibid, Uttar.* 17.8-10

45 *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdyam, Ci.*3.10

46 *Vṛndamādhava*-63.5

47 *Yogaratnākara-Strirogādhikāra.Pradaracikitsā*-21

48 *Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu*-5.147-48

49 *Rāja Nighaṇṭu-Karavīrādivarga*-56

50 *Rāja Nighaṇṭu*, p. 497

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indigestion, thirst, burning sensation, worms, swelling, poison and blood disorders.[51]

According to *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu*, *Aśoka* is cool in potency, bitter, causes constipation, imparts colour/complexion, astringent mitigates *doṣas*, cures goitre, thirst, indigestion, burning sensations, worm infestations, consumption, poison and bleeding diseases.[52]

Śāligrāma Nighaṇṭu describes *Aśoka* as having the quality to enhance the beauty of body and alleviates sorrow of women. It is constipating and may be used for curing burning sensations, fatiguesness, tumours, abdominal troubles, pains, piles and all types of thirst, edema, scrofulous and disease of the blood.

Aśoka has been referred as an agent curing *pitta* and blood disorders. It is also used in the treatment of burning sensation, thirst, worm infections, wounds, diarrhoea, poisoning, scrofulous glands tumours, uterine disorders, distention of abdomen, also used as a constipating and in excess menstrual bleeding. A *pala* weight of pulverized *Aśoka* bark taken with honey, milk and clarified butter, acts as prophylactic against all distempers.[53]

Conclusion:

After going through above-mentioned facts it is loud and clear that the herb-*Aśoka* plays a vital role in well-being of human beings. Not only it is useful from cultural point of view, it is of great use from medicinal point of view. Sanskrit Literature has come up with amazing facts pertaining to the cultural and medicinal properties of *Aśoka*. Modern day researchers should draw inspiration from these facts and come up with other relevant information.

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51 *Kaiyadeva Nighaṇṭu*-1502-1503

52 *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu-Puṣpavarga*-48

53 *Agnipurāṇa*-286.15

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RESURRECTING SIR RAMAKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR'S INDOLOGICAL THOUGHT AND METHOD

K. Paddayya*

Introduction

The years 1757, 1799 and 1818 signify eventful changes in the modern history of eastern, southern and western parts of India, respectively. The victory of the British in the battle of Plassey formally marked the commencement of colonial era in India. Likewise, the defeat of Tipu Sultan in the Third Mysore battle enabled the British to entrench themselves securely in the southern part of the country. Within a small space of another two decades, resulting from the defeat of the Peshwa's forces in the Battle of Kirkee, the western territories too slipped into the hands of the British. These events mark the interface between the late medieval and modern history of India. Ravinder Kumar's book *Western India in the Nineteenth Century* (1968) gives an excellent overview of the all-round transformation that was set in motion in this part of the country subsequent to its conquest by the British. Our hero in this essay, Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, is a true product of the contact between India's age-old cultural traditions and European civilization. This commingling of Oriental and Western cultures and learning is unmistakably reflected in both Bhandarkar's Indological thought and his method.

Driven by a combination of what may be called imperial, romantic and academic gazes, the colonial power and its administrators initiated in all three regions steps to investigate the past of respective regions. We are all familiar with Sir William Jones' founding of the Asiatic Society in Kolkata in 1784 and how in the next half-century path-breaking developments took place in the study of ancient languages of India, epigraphical and numismatic records, and other aspects of

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Asia's past in general and that of India in particular. There is much literature about the contributions made by the Asiatic Society which the Government of India recognized as an institution of national importance during the Prime Ministership of Indira Gandhi (for an excellent account of the Society's work in the first-half century, see Kejariwal 1988).

In 1999 in a short paper titled "Inventing History of South India" Professor Thomas Trautmann of Michigan University proposed that in the southern territories too many major findings began to be made about the region's past from the very opening years of the nineteenth century. A decade later he (2009) brought these together under the phrase Madras School of Orientalism and published an edited volume containing eight essays which gave real substance to the new school. Trautmann held that the Madras School dealt with Oriental scholarship in the sense that it was based on knowledge of ancient and modern languages and also in the sense that the knowledge so arrived at about history, culture and laws of the southern tracts was linked to administration of the newly colonized territories. So he found full justification in christening these knowledge-seeking efforts as the Madras School of Orientalism. Among the major contributions of this School one may cite the identification of Dravidian languages as a distinct family in 1816, recognition of Jainism as a separate faith, initiation of the first ethnological project covering the vast area between Madras and Malabar, and the discovery of the first series of regular archaeological sites as represented by megalithic monuments, Buddhist stūpas and Neolithic ashmounds.

A Western India School of Orientalism

Where do we stand with reference to Western India? Were there comparable developments in this region too? This is a large topic and I must straightway confess that my knowledge of it is at best marginal. Partly out of my interest in the historiography of Indian archaeology and also arising from curiosity to know about the various stages through which the Deccan College in Pune, with which I am associated for sixty years, passed over the last 200 years, I have sometimes been consulting writings dealing with Indological studies in this part of the country. My chance noticing, in June 1997 in the India Office and Records Literary in London (now part of the British Library), of the letter which Mounstuart Elphinston wrote to the Directors of the East India Company in 1824, stoutly upholding his decision

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to establish the Hindoo College in Pune (nucleus of Deccan College) three years earlier, created enough enthusiasm and interest in me that in 2002 I published a research paper titled "On Some Aspects of the Early History of Deccan College in Pune" (Paddayya 2002). My interest in the history of Deccan College continues and I have recently completed another article which deals with the later history of this illustrious institution of higher learning (Paddayya *In Press*–a).

Then my general interest in the history of Indological studies in Western India was spurred by my reading of van der Veer's (1999) critical essay titled "Monumental Texts: The Critical Edition of India's National Heritage." I was struck by his remark that the critical editions of the two great Indian epics were to an extent motivated by nationalist feelings. I soon began to consult relevant literature. Contrary to the views of van der Veer, I was struck by the academic motivations behind the preparation of these critical editions of the two epics. I also enlarged my reading interests to cover other aspects of Indological research in Western India. Slowly a feeling of confidence began to creep in that Western India too made some important and original contributions to Indologial research in the country.

It was against this background that I proposed the idea of a Western India School of Orientalism in the U.P. Shah Memorial Lecture delivered at the Oriental Institute in Baroda in 2015 (Paddayya 2015: 151-156; see also 2018: 179-89). In this lecture I presented a brief account of the development of Indological studies in the region, commencing with the founding of the Literary Society of Bombay in 1804 (renamed in 1826 as the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of London) and the establishment of the Hindoo College in Pune in 1821 (nucleus of Deccan College). Later in the century the studies were pursued by a galaxy of Western and Indian scholars, among whom Bhau Daji Lad, Bhagawanlal Indraji, John Wilson, Bühler, Kielhorn, James Burgess, Cousens, R.G. Bhandarkar and V.K. Rajwade stand out. Then I mentioned how these studies picked up momentum in the first half of the following century with the establishment of five major institutions in different parts of the Presidency, viz. Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal in 1910 and Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in 1917 in Pune, Oriental Institute in Vadodara in 1927; and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and Gujarat Research Society in Mumbai in 1938. I then briefly drew attention to the major

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research projects initiated and completed successfully by these institutions, viz. the *Dharmaśāstras* project and Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* project by the Bhandarkar Institute; History and Culture of the Indian People project by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and Critical Edition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* project by the Oriental Institute. I finally referred to how after Independence the Deccan College, among other institutions, continued the Indological studies in with the same critical spirit.

One of my main interests in raising this issue of Western India's Indological contributions in the Vadodara lecture was to counter van der Veer's view that "the production of "critical editions" cannot only be understood in a progressive narrative of philological scholarship, but must also be seen as part of the Hindu nationalist endeavour to nationalize the past" (van der Veer 1999: 134). In arriving at this interpretation of nationalistic urges motivating the critical editions he was influenced by Sukthankar's statement of 1927 that "the *Mahābhārata* is in more senses than one, the greatest epic the world has produced" and his statement of 1943 that the epic "is our past which has prolonged into the past. We are it..." (Sukthankar 1944: 9, 439). I tried to point out that, far from being expressions of a chauvinistic bent of mind, Sukthankar's statements were only meant to attract funds from private sources from which the Bhandarkar Institute drew all of its financial support. Sukthankar, fresh in mind and young in age, was motivated by his grounding in the critical scholarship of German Indological tradition.

I also wanted to rekindle among the younger workers interest in general historiography of Indological studies and to draw their attention to the likely benefits that could be derived from it in the identification of contemporary research issues and selection of methodological approaches. I made a specific reference to the rigorous approach advocated by Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and his adoption of this approach in his own investigations into the political, religious, linguistic and social history of ancient India. I also made a brief reference to the adoption of these approaches by some of Bhandarkar's contemporaries and later workers. These approaches in fact emerged as a hallmark or distinguishing feature of Western India's Indological studies.

It is the latter aspect which I want to pursue a little further in this essay. I must readily admit at the outset that my specialization is in hardcore prehistory and my familiarity with general Indological research is limited. Secondly, I am not the first

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person to refer to the critical methodological spirit advocated by Bhandarkar. For example, Bedekar (1976) has published a short but very useful paper on this topic. It has also been referred to, albeit in passing, by a few other workers. Still I feel that this is a topic or theme which deserves refocusing of attention in contemporary times both in academic and public domains. We shall begin with a brief resume of Bhandarkar's Indological writings and then shift to his views about methodological issues. We shall conclude with some remarks about the relevance of this topic in modern times.

R.G. Bhandarkar and his Indological Writings

Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar occupies an honoured place in the entire story of Indological research. In terms of both originality of his contributions and their wide sweep and recognition of the role of human studies in promoting the welfare and unity of mankind, Bhandarkar immediately reminds us of that eighteenth-century genius who pioneered Oriental studies, Sir William Jones. One may even go to the extent of calling him the William Jones of the nineteenth century. The colonial powers rightly honoured him with a knighthood. Recognition was not lacking from his friends, admirers and the scholarly world who, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, paid tribute to him by establishing an institute for Oriental studies in his name in Pune and also brought out a splendid *Festschrift* with research essays contributed by forty renowned scholars across the globe. There are some estimates of Bhandarkar's multi-faceted scholarship and, personally speaking, I have benefited from H.A. Phadke's short biographical account titled *R.G. Bhandarkar* (1968) published by National Book Trust as part of its National Biography series and the volume edited by R.N. Dandekar called *Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar as an Indologist* (1976), arising from a symposium conducted on the occasion of Bhandarkar's fiftieth death anniversary at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune in 1975.

Bhandarkar's Indological scholarship covered Sanskrit philology and literature, political, social and religious history, epigraphy, coins and other antiquities (for a general estimate of Bhandarkar's work as an Indologist, see Sircar 1976). Then there are writings that deal with social and religious reforms. These are numerous and spread over a long period of time and are published from various places in India and abroad. We owe a real debt of gratitude to Narayan Utgikar and Vasudeo

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Paranjpe for assembling these widely scattered writings and republishing them in four volumes as *Collected Works of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar* between 1927 and 1933. These volumes contain almost all essential writings of Bhandarkar and run to about 2500 pages. To these volumes we may add *Dharmpar Lekh va Vyakhyane* (1911) containing his views about the nature of true religion. These volumes enable us to form an estimate of his contribution to the enrichment of Indological scholarship and his keen desire to use knowledge of our past for the betterment of the present Indian society.

It is true that collection of source materials in Western India had already begun even before Bhandarkar. We have eminent antiquarians such as Bhau Daji Lad and Bhagawanlal Indraji and then several European workers who dealt with epigraphs, coins, art and architecture. But all these efforts were essentially aimed at collection and classification of materials of one kind or another. There was hardly any attempt at synthesis. Surely there were some attempts at writing history of India but these were made by European writers such as James Mill (1848 [1817]), Elphinstone (1841) and Meadows Taylor (1870). But native scholars were not yet forthcoming in the preparation of connected accounts of history of India. It is in this respect that the lead taken by Bhandarkar assumes importance. He showed extraordinary skills and abilities in handling original source materials at all levels – their collection, cataloguing and classification; critical scrutiny; description; and, finally, their synthesis and interpretation. In other words, one may confidently assert say that Indological research *sensu stricto* commenced in Western India with his works of synthesis. I will briefly draw attention to his major writings to serve as the backdrop for my observations.

In history proper two of Bhandarkar's attempts are worth citing: A *Peep into the Early History of India* and *The Early History of the Deccan down to the Mohamedan Conquest.* The former appeared as a lengthy paper in 1900, i.e. four years before Vincent Smith's famous work *The Early History of India.* (In a twelve-page review Bhandarkar pointed out several omissions in Smith's book [Bhandarkar 1933a: 511-522].) In the opening paragraph itself of his paper Bhandarkar clarifies that his grounding in English education and introduction to the study of European history spurred "a desire to be acquainted with the ancient history of his own country, to know by whom and how that country was governed in ancient

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times, or how its social and religious institutions have grown up ..." (Bhandarkar 1933b: 2). He goes on to state that his account was based on the use of evidences drawn from available literary texts, coins, inscriptions and accounts of foreign travellers. These statements allow us to appreciate Bhandarkar's realization of the broad scope of historical reconstructions and the variety of sources that need to be used for this purpose. In this paper he gave an account of the country's history from the Mauryan period to the Gupta empire. *The Early History of the Deccan* is a monographic publication which first appeared in 1884; it is the first ever account of the history of the Deccan (Bhandarkar 1927a). It is also noted for the comprehensive sense of the concept of history and the use of a wide range of source materials. Also one must note Bhandarkar's insistence, as Kalhana did some seven centuries ago, that historians ought to play the role of a judge while sifting and interpreting historical evidence. Although he could not cite any archaeological evidence (of the kind we now have) in support of his view, Bhandarkar already recognized that "well-organized communities and kingdoms" existed in the southern territories of India before the entry of the Aryans which "drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles" (1927a: 9 and 10).

No less remarkable, but in fact more enduring, is his contribution to religious history of India. *Vaishnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems,* originally published in Germany in 1913, is the first major synthesis or historical account of religious and philosophical thought from the Vedic age to the period of medieval saints (1929a). Its importance is enhanced by the fact that it was written by Bhandarkar when he was already advanced in age with failing eye-sight, so much so that he had to take the help of readers and amanuenses. Dandekar (1976) has published an elaborate essay on this topic, pointing out the pioneering nature of Bhandarkar's volume and how it inspired a number of later writings. In a broad sweep Bhandarkar shows how the early Vedic speculations and mechanical worship systems eventually led to pantheistic principles in the Upanishadic period, which in later times led to the growth of various theistic sects. It is also remarkable that Bhandarkar recognized that the Upanishadic doctrines already contained the germs of Buddhism and Jainism. This continuity of ancient Indian thought, first pointed out by Bhandarkar, was developed by later workers. As part of his Ph.D. thesis of London University S.M. Katre argued that the early Buddhist ballads of North India echoed the Upanishadic traditions and speculations (Katre 1932).

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Bhandarkar's command over Sanskrit literature was again very strong and robust and his writings cover the Vedic texts, the epics, grammatical treatises and many other texts (see review essays by Joshi 1976; Mainkar1976). He popularized the study of Sanskrit through his *First Book of Sanskrit* (1864) and *Second Book of Sanskrit* (1868). Also we must remember his laborious efforts spread over several years in the 1880s to go to various places in Rajasthan and other areas, leading to the collection of a vast number of manuscripts relating to Jainism, Buddhism and other topics. He submitted detailed reports on these expeditions (1928a); these reports serve as model examples of data collection and analysis even today.

In his Third Anniversary Address before the Asiatic Society in Kolkata in 1786 William Jones laid the foundations of comparative philology (Jones 1807: 24-46). While praising that "... in some early age they (Hindus) were splendid in arts and arms, happy in government, wise in legislation, and eminent in various knowledge", he famously declared that "The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a strong affinity both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which perhaps no longer exists..." (Jones 1807: 32, 34). This statement led to revolutionary changes in the concept of origins and spread of languages in Eurasia. Bhandarkar accomplished a similar feat in the case of Indo-Aryan languages. In the seven Wilson Philological Lectures, delivered under the auspices of Bombay University in 1877 (Bhandarkar 1929b), he gave a detailed account of how Sanskrit and its variants, Pali and Prakrit, eventually gave rise to the various regional languages of North India from about the second millennium. Ghatage (1976:146) called these lectures "an authentic survey of the development of Indo-Aryan over a period of three thousand years, which remains readable even today and pays a careful perusal." Remarkable too are Bhandarkar's investigations into the social history of India. Besides his classic essay on "Social History of India" (1928d), he has several other writings on this and related topics.

Bhandarkar's strong views about the need for reforms in Hindu religion and social organization are well known and, for these, he derived strength from his first-

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hand knowledge of ancient Indian sources. He has numerous writings and essays on topics such as the caste and its evolution, occupational changes and formations of new caste groups, position of women, child marriage, *Sati* and widow remarriage. It is also well known that his views on some of the issues differed radically from those of Lokamanya Tilak but he never bent from his opinions.

Application of the Scientific Method

The above is admittedly an all-too-brief and informal account of Bhandarkar's rich contributions to Indology. It is worth repeating that, while the efforts of earlier workers were all in the nature of writings on individual topics or items with limited scope, it was Bhandarkar who took the initiative of bringing together different categories of evidence and preparing syntheses concerning political, religious, social and linguistic history. This fully entitles him to the title of Father of Indology in Western India. His initiative met with tremendous success and marks the real beginnings of Indological research in Western India as a scientific pursuit, i.e. critical and objective examination of various strands of evidence, piecing these together and drawing general inferences or making wider propositions about the ancient Indian society and various aspects connected with its development across time.

While Bhandarkar's Indological writings are widely cited even now irrespective of the accumulation of new facts, it is unfortunate that the methodological aspects of Bhandarkar's research lie unrecognized. Beyond Bedekar's short essay I have not come across any specific writing on this aspect of his work. In the following pages I would like to elaborate upon Bedekar's fine attempt and point out how Bhandarkar's scientific approach influenced several of his twentieth-century successors in the region. I will also draw attention to its importance in contemporary times when Indological studies are experiencing ideological feuds and trends of various kinds. I shall attend to this task by posing to myself four simple queries and seeking some answers: a) What was the background for or where did Bhandarkar derive inspiration from for the rigorous approach which he adopted in his writings?; b) What is the nature of this approach which in modern philosophy of science is called the Scientific Method?; c) What is its impact on the later workers in the region?; and d) What is its relevance in contemporary academic and social domains?

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Our source materials for this purpose are Bhandarkar's own writings and speeches. The most elaborate and classic essay published by him on this topic is titled "The Critical, Comparative and Historical Method of Inquiry, as applied to Sanskrit Scholarship, and Philology and Indian Archaeology" which originally appeared in 1888 (Bhandarkar 1933c: 362-93). This arose from a public lecture delivered by him under the auspices of the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay on 31 March that year. It is a remarkable essay of 30 pages and probably represents the first ever call given by an Indian researcher for the application or employment of what is now freely called the Scientific Method not merely in Indological studies but in the whole domain of academic research in the country. To be sure, Bhandarkar also directed the attention of younger workers to the importance of scientific approach on several other occasions later. He brought this topic to the fore in an elaborate way in his lecture on "The Ends and Aims of College Education" delivered at the Deccan College in Poona in March 1893 on the occasion of its 25th anniversary (Bhandarkar 1933d: 461-75). Later in the same year this topic briefly came up in his informal remarks about "The Ideal of an Indian Scholar" published in *The Times of India* (Bhandarkar 1933e: 476-9). Finally, he gave once again elaborate attention to this issue in his lecture "Lines for Fresh Research in Sanskrit Literature and Antiquities" delivered at the Free Church College Literary Society of Bombay in 1905 (Bhandarkar 1933f: 394-415).

One thing is certain about the sources of Bhandarkar's scientific methodology. That is, Bhandarkar was a product of the nineteenth century in senses more than one. Subsequent to the fall of the Peshwas and commencement of the British rule, Western or English education began to be introduced in this part of the country. The Christian Missionaries played a major role in this regard by establishing their educational institutions at important places. Soon the Presidency Government itself started taking major steps towards this end. While giving support to vernacular schools, English schools also soon began to be established. Macaulay's famous Minute of 1835 played a decisive role in the spread of English education in the three Presidencies. Thus by the middle of the nineteenth century English education became a factor of importance in Western India.

Ratnagiri was one of the places where an English School was established. Bhandarkar's father was shifted to this place as a government officer in 1847. After

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completing primary education at his birthplace Malavan **(Fig. 1)** and then at Rajapur, at the age of ten Bhandarkar came to Ratanagiri and got admitted to the English School (for a brief biographical account, see Vaidya 1911: 1-77). Encouraged by his father, Bhandarkar developed keen interest in English and Western education and cleared his school examination in 1852. Then in 1853 he shifted to the Elphinstone Institute (with school and college sections) where he cleared his High School Examination 1854. His stay there for the next five years was crucial in the

Fig. 1. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar's ancestral house at Malavan. After Bhandarkar (1911).

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sense that he showed special interest in mathematics. He acquired too proficiency in other subjects, more particularly English, History and Philosophy. He honed these broad interests further as a Dakshina Fellow of Poona College from 1859 to 1864 and later as a Professor of Oriental Studies from 1883 to 1893 at this institution (now renamed as Deccan College) (**Fig. 2**).

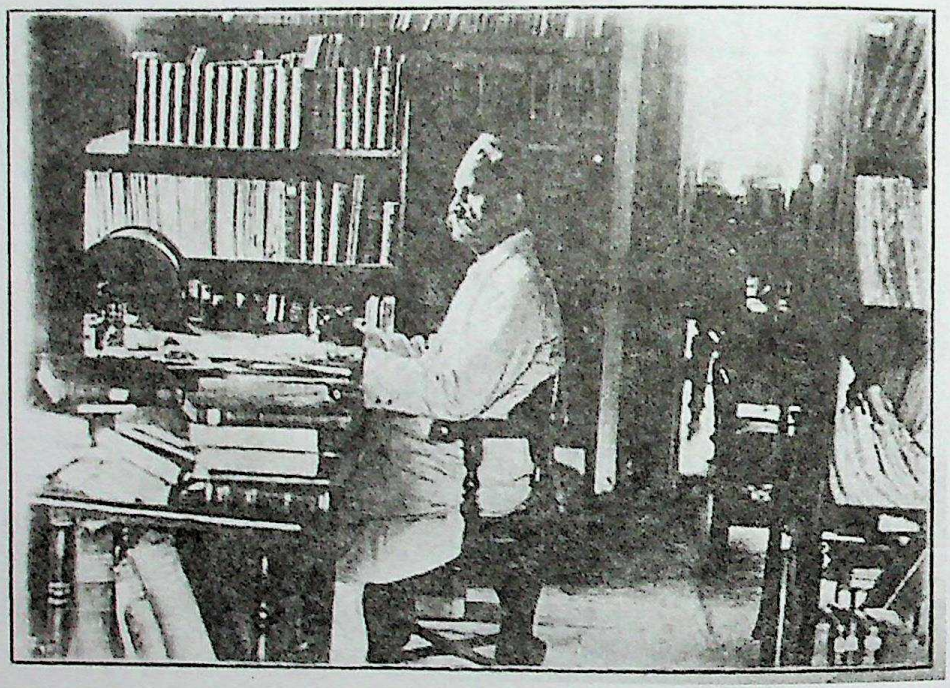

Fig. 2. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar at work. After Bhandarkar (1911).

While mathematics instilled in him elements of exactness and precision, his exposure to Western learning opened his mind to a new civilization and new ways of thinking. In his 1888 lecture Bhandarkar himself briefly refers to the scientific developments that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We may recall here that A.R. Wallace, who collaborated with Darwin in developing the theory of evolution of living organisms, called the nineteenth century a Wonderful Century (1901). The famed scientist Thomas Henry Huxley was so influenced by the variety of scientific advances made in the century that he chose to designate it as New Reformation (1968), making us recall the revolution brought by Martin Luther much earlier in the Christian religion.

Right from his student years at the Elphinstone Institute Bhandarkar kept himself fully informed of these developments in European science. In the 1888

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essay he writes that the inductive method (observation and experimentation) that had begun to be used in the physical sciences in the eighteenth century was adopted by other domains of knowledge in the next century, leading to major and even revolutionary changes in man's conception of the world. Bhandarkar also read various works in logic and British empiricist philosophy such as J.S. Mill's *System of Logic, Ratiocinative and Inductive* (1865) and Whiteley's *Easy Lessons on Reasoning*. In other words, he was familiar with what is called the Theory of Inquiry or Scientific Method in modern philosophy of science. He acknowledges the reality of these developments in European science in an eloquent statement in his essay: "... The inductive method began to be used in Europe about the end of the sixteenth century, and since that time very great progress has been made in the discovery of the laws of the physical world. The critical, comparative and historical methods began to be well understood and employed about the end of the eighteenth century, and within a hundred years since that time, an equally amazing progress has been made in other departments of knowledge; and geology, palaeontology, comparative philology or the science of language, comparative mythology, evolution and the origin of species, scientific history, comparative jurisprudence, archaeology, sound scholarship, and even comparative religion are the grand results..." (Bhandarkar 1933c: 363). This statement leaves us in no doubt about the inspiration or background for his adoption of an objective and rigorous approach in Indological studies. He states that William Jones' recognition of the similarities between Sanskrit and classical European languages was an instance of the application of this method.

What are the main aspects or elements of the scientific approach adopted by Bhandarkar? As suggested by the title of his 1888 essay, this approach has three components. The first concerns subjecting a situation or occurrence, oral or written, to a critical examination for ascertaining its level of credibility. The second component involves comparing a situation or occurrence with similar instances so as to enable oneself to "separate the accidents of the thing or occurrence from its essential nature, and sometimes to arrive at a law which includes the thing or occurrence as a particular case and explains it" (1933c: 362-3). The third component is the historical perspective, i.e. ascertaining the nature of a thing or situation by examining and comparing with its forms in previous periods. In this essay Bhandarkar employs his three-pronged methodology to three important

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branches of Indology: a) a critical examination of various religious and secular texts in the Sanskrit language; b) philology or comparative analysis of words and phrases in different languages; and c) antiquarian studies.

He takes up three categories of writings or works in the Sanskrit language for critical examination: a) *Caritas*; b) the Vedic hymns, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the Purāṇas; c) oral traditions. As R.G. Collingwood famously enjoined upon the historians much later in his book *The Idea of History* (1946) to put their sources, as it were, in "witness-box and cross-examine them," Bhandarkar had already felt the need to subject the Sanskrit writings to close scrutiny for ascertaining the degree of authenticity of events and personalities portrayed in them. He prescribes that "...one ought to ask oneself whether the object of the author was to please and instruct the reader and excite the feelings of wonder, or to record the events as they occurred" (1933c: 365). With the help of this Occam's Razor he seeks as it were to separate chaff from grain in the accounts provided by ancient texts (1933c: 365-377). *Vaṁśāvalīs* or Dynastic Chronicles of the historical period are one such group, e.g. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, *Harṣacarita* and *Rājataraṅginī*. Bhandarkar warns about the accretion of later interpolations and exaggerations. As examples of the latter, he cites Kalhaṇa's statements that some of the Kashmir's princes ruled for 300 years and his dating of the Kushanas to the twelfth century B.C. He calls for corroborative evidence such as that provided by accounts of foreign travellers (e.g. Hieun-Tsang's reference to the defeat of Harṣa by Pulakesin) and inscriptional records.

Bhandarkar's critical eye gets even sharper when it comes to the use of the Vedic texts, the two epics and the Purāṇas for historical reconstruction. To be sure, he does not deny that these writings "are of great historical value in so far as they place before us the thoughts and feelings, the aims and aspirations, and the manners and customs of the people at or, possibly in some cases, before the time they were written, and thus present to us a picture of the life and civilization of the people of the period..." (1933c: 368-9). And yet he is not at all ready to accept that the narratives contained in these texts constitute true history, because these are vitiated by exaggerations, later interpolations, changes arising from regional versions and other anomalies. He is therefore led to "declare the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, and the Purāṇas to be not historical" (1933c: 365). Likewise, he disposes off as

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unacceptable certain references contained in oral traditions such as the contemparaneity of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, and of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

Coming to philological studies, Bhandarkar likewise warns against hasty conclusions about linguistic derivations (and from these inferring cultural connections) based upon superficial similarities between words of different languages widely dispersed across space. He cites, for instance, the alleged derivation of the prefix Deut in Deutsch (German) from the Sanskrit word *Daitya* (demon or enemy of the Gods). Such derivations ignore or violate basic law-like generalizations governing linguistic transformations. Strictly speaking then, as he says, the German derivation from *Daitya* should have been *teudh,* not *Deut.* He then goes on to cite some cases of false and unscientific cases of etymological derivations of Marathi words (1933c: 378-385). Finally, he warns how ignorance of history tends to lead people to attempt false cultural connections, e.g. identification of the *Rākṣasas* of the Daṇḍakāraṇya mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* with the Buddhists, Sītā with Helen and influence of New Testament on the *Bhagavadgītā.*

Bhandarkar brings his essay to a close with some challenging queries and proddings. He says that arising from our connections with them (their study of our languages and cultures) the European scholars have developed the sciences of comparative philology and comparative mythology. Further, the study by the European scholars of the Sanskrit and Pali texts and the thought contained in these writings has introduced a fair degree of liberality in the religious thought of Europe. (Raymond Schwab [1984], after Quinet, later developed this notion of Oriental influences on the European thought as a full theme under the concept of Oriental Renaissance.) Bhandarkar cites these developments as some examples of the virile nature of the European intellect and to underscore that the principle of progress is an important component of European civilization. These are the benefits they derived from adopting a critical and comparative approach while dealing with the other parts of the world and other cultures.

Bhandarkar now asks his compatriots, particularly his Hindu brethern, whether they have derived commensurate benefits from the European connections with them. He boldly tells them that in their preoccupation with quarrels about female education, caste and religion, they have failed to recognize the usefulness of the

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critical and comparative method. He prods them to first grasp the "nature and requisites" of this rational method and "use it and direct it not only to find what is true in science, but what is good and rational in social and religious institutions" (1933c: 391). In fact he goes to the extent of directly warning them of their blind and uncritical attitudes and opinions about our ancient customs and traditions. To repeat his own strong words with which I commenced my essay: "...And here I feel myself in duty bound, even at the risk of displeasing some of you, to make a passing allusion to the most uncritical spirit that has come over us of praising ourselves and our ancestors indiscriminately, seeing nothing but good in our institutions and in our literature, asserting that the ancient Hindus had made very great progress in all the success, physical, moral and social, and the arts – greater even by far than Europe had made hitherto – and denying even the most obvious deficiencies in our literature, such as the absence of satisfactory historical records, and our most obvious defects..." (1933c: 392). He winds up the essay by saying that we can take "an honest and discerning pride in the achievements of our ancestors" only by way of equalling or surpassing the European scholarship in the application of the critical, comparative and historical method in our investigations of the political, social, literary and religious history of the country. He further says that no costly laboratories are required in the application of this method in the study of literary heritage and antiquarian remains.

He brings up this topic of critical inquiry in a big way in his essay on "The Ends and Aims of College Education." As he puts it, "... the acquisition of clear ideas, and of the power of observation, comparison and criticism, the freeing of the mind from the narrowness consequent on prepossession or prejudice, and a positive knowledge of certain subjects constitute, I believe, the aim of mental education" (1933d: 468). In this context he invokes the ancient Indian concepts of *Vinaya* and *Saṁskāra* which are aimed at training the feelings and faculties of man, leading to a well-ordered mind, good manners and humility. Referring to the ideals set by ancient writers such as Yāska, he says that education should help man avoid unworthy habits such as false pride in oneself and one's culture, eschew conceit, detect defects in one's own culture, and appreciate the strengths in other cultures (see also Bhandarkar 1933e).

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The importance of critical approach once again crops up in a prominent way in the essay "Lines for Fresh Research in Sanskrit Literature and Indian Antiquities" (1933f). Bhandarkar once again warns against considering or taking for granted the two epics as true historical documents. He emphasizes the need to reconstruct the original readings of the *Ṛgveda* and the original form of sacrificial ritual. He highlights the need to capture the philosophical and religious thought contained in the Upaniṣads. He lays special stress on the investigation of the nature, composition and original content of the *Mahābhārata*. He makes similar comments about the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The essay concludes with comments about the critical use of coins and inscriptions for historical reconstruction. Bhandarkar's insistence on the importance of scientific approach to literary and other sources finds expression in two other essays: "Presidential Address at the Opening Session of the First Oriental Conference of India, held at Poona on the 5th of November 1919" (1933g) and "Inaugural Address" at the Opening of a Series of Lectures at the Bhandarkar Institute in December 1918 (1933h). While no doubt cautioning against exaggerations and unhistorical statements in ancient Indian writings, Bhandarkar at the same time warns that "We must not on that account cease to read our Sanskrit and vernacular works for the pleasure and instruction they afford to us. Only we must take care that our partiality to them in this respect does not obscure our judgement when we have to examine them critically in order to find out their historical relations..." (1933h: 421). Nor does Bhandarkar deny the role of traditional *Paṇḍita* type of scholarship in pursuing Indological studies.

Bhandarkar also took keen interest in regular archaeological discoveries that were being made in the area. He prepared, for instance, a detailed report on the remains of a Buddhist *stūpa* exposed from the ancient mound near Kolhapur (Bhandarkar 1880; 1927b). He published several articles on ancient Indian inscriptions.

Social and Religious Reforms

Bhandarkar's critical approach was a double-edged weapon specifically aimed first to elevate Indological studies from the level of a series of isolated and descriptive efforts to a scientific status. Simultaneously he also recognized, unlike all of his contemporaries, that this critical approach to the study of the country's past and exposure to Western civilization would allow us to identify the negative

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and forbidding aspects of some of our customs, traditions and practices and enable us to initiate steps for bringing in reforms. This societal dimension is an equally significant aspect of Bhandarkar's contribution. Much literature exists on this topic (e.g. Phadke 1968: Chapters VI and VII), so a few remarks will suffice. He was obviously inspired by the reformist views of persons like Raja Rammohan Roy in Bengal and Bal Shastri Jambhekar in Western India itself and even enrolled himself as a member of the Paramahamsa Sabha started by Dadoba Pandurang which advocated the eradication of caste system.

Bhandarkar expressed his views in the addresses and lectures he gave at Social Conferences and reform associations (Bhandarkar 1928b-g: 443-602). The important thing to note is that Bhandarkar's reformist views are backed up by clear evidence drawn from his critical assessment of ancient Indian traditions and customs. In his essay on "The Social History of India" (1928b) he debunked the God-sanctioned notion of origin of castes and pointed out how the practices of connubium, endogamy and prohibition of intergroup dining, coupled with other factors such as geographical isolation, formation of trade guilds and appearance of new religious sects, in course of time led to the growth of numerous castes. He clearly recognized the caste system as a hindrance to orderly social intercourse and hence sought its eradication. Likewise, he cited numerous instances from ancient texts and argued in favour of a better place for women in society. He also cited instances from ancient literature to argue against child marriage and widow burning but located evidence in support of widow remarriage. These views are repeated in the essay on "The Indian Caste System" published in 1915 (1928c). It is well known that his essay of 1891 (1928d; see also 1928e) on the age of marriage of girls and its consummation provoked severe criticism in a section of the Hindu society led by Tilak such that at a public meeting called in Pune to gather support for legislation on this topic Bhandarkar was nearly stoned to death by a gang of young men (Phadke 1968: 70). But he was undeterred in his views and efforts.

There is in fact an anthropological touch in these essays of Bhandarkar, more particularly in his approach to the vexed issue of the origin of caste system and emergence of new castes in the course of time. He also drew attention to the open-ended character of Hindu social organization in his essay on "The Incorporation of Pre-Mahomedan Foreigners into the Hindu Social Organisation" (1928f). Here he

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refers to "the attractive power of Hindu civilization, which has enabled it to assimilate and absorb into itself every foreign invader except the Muslim and the European" (*Ibid.*: 638). Citing references from ancient Indian texts and epigraphical sources, he shows how the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Abhiras, the Kushanas (Turuskas), the Magas, the Hunas and the Gujars who had entered India from the northwest at different times in ancient India got assimilated into the Hindu society. For example, some of the Kushana rulers became staunch Saivites and the Magas who settled in Rajasthan and other areas became *Brāhmaṇas*.

What about the various tribal groups (broadly grouped together under Asuras or Niṣādas) that existed in India itself prior to the Aryan settlement? *Tribes of Ancient India* (2000) by Mamata Choudhury is a recent work on this topic. One would not expect Bhandarkar to comment on the position of these groups *vis-à-vis* the Hindu society because in his time anthropology and prehistory which have given vital evidence about the prehistoric hunting-gathering societies ancestral to these tribal groups had just started coming up. We now know for certain that, both biologically and culturally, the hunting-gathering groups of the Palaeolithic and Mesolithic phases as well as the Neolithic-Chalcolithic agropastoral groups were largely absorbed into the mainstream Indian society through various processes including cultural and religious assimilation and intermarriages. Misra (2004) and Murty (2019) have pointed out at length the interaction processes leading to the absorption of tribal groups in North and Peninsular India, respectively (see also Choudhury 2000: 111-119; Gardiner 2013).

What is the way out to deal with this division of the Indian people into 5000 caste groups, each with an identity of its own? Bhandarkar's answer is: Reform. It is to this topic his Presidential Address at the National Social Conference held at Ahmadabad in 1902 is devoted (1928g). For one thing, he is against radical happenings and changes like the ones associated with the French Revolution. Rather the change should be brought about by discussion and debate as guided by reason and moral purpose; it should be finally linked to national interest. Here he cited the example of the work done by Cobden and Bright to bring about reforms in the Corn Laws in England. In other words, he calls for a national social reform movement.

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No less striking and remarkable are Bhandarkar's views about the need for reforming the Hindu religion, which he in fact considered to be the basis for social reform. Bhandarkar and M.G. Ranade became active members of the Prarthana Samaj which was formed in Bombay in 1867. His essay on "The Position of the Prarthana Samaj in the Religious World" is a beautiful exposition of the religious principles which the organization sought to promote (1928h). Equally important is his essay on "Basis of Theism, and its Relation to the so-called Revealed Religions" (1928i). These two pieces of his writing are worth reading by all who are curious to know about the origins of religious feelings and their role in human societies. Bhandarkar was fully conversant with the newly developed science of comparative religion, so he begins these essays with some general remarks about the every origin of religious feelings in man which involve a belief in some higher and unseen power, benevolent or malevolent. According respect to this force assumed different forms in course of time and even led to fetishism. Morality is the basis of all religious thought and Buddhism and Christianity aim to bring about a moral revolution in man. The religious thought of the Prarthana Samaj draws upon the precepts from the Upaniṣads and *Bhagvadgitā* and also the sayings of medieval saints of North India and the Deccan. In lieu of personification, God is seen as a supreme force which is present everywhere in the universe. Love of one God and Brotherhood of man are now the guiding principles. The aim of *Prārthanā* is to "purify the heart and elevate it". In order to achieve this "the existing mechanical modes of worship must be entirely thrown away and the spiritual mode substituted..." (Bhandarkar 1928h: 623). Bhandarkar promoted these ideals of the *Prārthanā Samāja* by delivering a series of sermons on various occasions and at various places. About sixty of these are published in a book form under title *Dharmapar Lekh va Vyakhyane* published in 1911. Reading these sermons one almost mistakes Bhandarkar for a medieval saint.

Estimate

Bhandarkar strode like a colossus on the Indological scene in Western India for half a century covering the last quarter of the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century. Looking at his picture with a bushy and somewhat untended moustache and donning typical Maharashtrian dress consisting of *dhoti*, a long coat, *Pāgaḍi* and a long scarf or *Uparneth* with ends suspended down over the shoulders,

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one could easily mistake him for a traditional Sanskrit *Paṇḍita* or Śāstri. But this seeming appearance of an ordinary Śāstri totally belies his stature as a towering personality in the intellectual history of modern India and as a liberated soul and humanist. Bhandarkar's scholarship rose above the work of his contemporaries on small and sundry topics and he pioneered the trend of preparing works of synthesis after a rigorous scrutiny of the original sources. To that extent, he may be called the Father of Western India School of Indology. As he has himself admitted at more than one place in his writings, the credit for this giant leap goes to his exposure to Western education. As mentioned above, at the Elphinstone College in Bombay and later at the Deccan College in Pune he gained proficiency in subjects like history, philosophy and logic, English literature and science. These readings and close personal interaction with his European counterparts on the faculties of these two institutions, coupled with his initial interest in mathematics, enabled him to adopt a critical and objective approach in handling the source materials of Indological research and also equipped him with the skills required for preparing works of synthesis. Likewise, his exposure to Western civilization and adoption of a comparative approach to world civilizations inevitably led him to spot out the negative or evil aspects of Indian culture and the detrimental effects these have on the growth and development of human individuals.

Among Bhandarkar's contemporaries Tilak also adopted a scientific approach in his Indological writings. As I have pointed out at length elsewhere (Paddayya *In Press*–b), Tilak had to take recourse to empirical evidence for giving substance to his theory of the Arctic homeland of the Aryans. For this purpose he consulted the various writings in glacial geology and prehistoric archaeology, both being newly recognized disciplines in the later half of the nineteenth century. Tilak devoted entire chapters to the findings of these new disciplines in his book *The Arctic Home in the Vedas* published in 1903. V.K. Rajwade too adopted this critical approach in his prolonged efforts dealing with the collection, analysis and interpretation of the original source materials for Maratha history which he assembled from different places (Rajwade 1898).

What is important to note is that the critical approach to the investigation of the country's past pioneered by these early workers provided inspiration to several important projects or items of research in the twentieth century. The foremost

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among these is the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* text initiated under the editorship of V.S. Sukthankar, who had earlier received sound training in Sanskrit studies in Germany. It is very probable that Bhandarkar's personal suggestions prevailed in the selection of this epic for a critical assessment of numerous regional versions for reconstructing the original text. In this connection one may note that the whole project was inaugurated by Bhandarkar himself in April 1919, for which a grant of one lakh rupees was provided by Pant Pratinidhi, the Rajasaheb of Aundh. Sukthankar (1933: iii) hailed Bhandarkar as "the inspirer of the critical and rigorous scholarship of the present day."

Sukthnakar's critical scholarship that went into this monumental project in turn inspired other scholars. Just two years after joining the Deccan College in 1939, S.M. Katre published his small methodological treatise titled *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* (Katre 1941). It lays down principles and methodological guidelines for reading ancient texts including manuscripts. It has now been translated into Kannada and other Indian languages and is widely used for judging the contents of ancient texts. The Bhandarkar Institute's *Mahābhārata* project directly inspired the Oriental Institute of Vadodara to take up the *Rāmāyaṇa* text for a similar critical assessment of various versions under the editorship of G.H. Bhatt. It led to the publication of seven volumes between 1960 and 1975. These critical treatments of the texts of the two great epics inspired H.D. Sankalia to use archaeological evidence for dealing with the historicity of events and identity of geographical places mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* text. He published two books arising from this work – *Rāmāyaṇa: Myth or Reality* (1973) and *The Rāmāyaṇa in Historical Perspective* (1982). A major conclusion arrived at by Sankalia locates Lanka in Central India, not in Sri Lanka. I must also mention here Iravati Karve's book *Yuganta: The End of an Epoch* (1969) in which she took up an irreverent analysis of the character of various personalities in the *Mahābhārata*.

Where do we stand now *vis-à-vis* the scientific spirit characterizing the writings of these early workers? The situation is far from satisfactory and I believe that a virtual resurrection of Bhandarkar's thought and method is called for. His writings are vitally relevant for bringing about improvements in both academic and social domains.

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Serious concerns are being repeatedly expressed by both academicians and the government about the quality of higher education in the country. There is no denying the fact that, leaving aside the first quarter-century after Independence, there has been an overall decline in the quality of academic research and teaching in the country as a whole. This is reflected both in the nature of themes or topics selected for investigation and in the approaches adopted for this purpose. Indological studies are no exception to this overall trend. For example, in archaeology which is my specialization, it is no doubt true that a vast number of site reports have been produced. But there are very few projects which have been focused on the reconstruction of cultures themselves and their functioning, e.g. recognition of an early agropastoral phase in the country coeval with the Harappan civilization and study of the Iron Age settlement patterns. In recent years one notices an exaggerated importance that is being given to early dates. Two or three early dates for the Acheulian culture have led workers to propose India as the centre of origins. The finding of Toba ash deposit at Jwalapuram in Kurnool area has led to rash and unsupported interpretations about environmental change and its impact on Palaeolithic cultural transitions. Likewise, one notices the use of a few bags of dog-biscuit potsherds or stone tools for proposing the birth of new archaeological cultures. In Sanskrit studies, the kind of ancient learning that is contained in the texts and the themes highlighted by Bhandarkar in his essay on "New Lines..." have probably received but only inadequate attention. And we are by and large still stuck up with the study of *mantras*, details of sacrificial rites, etc. pertaining to the religious domain.

Another disturbing trend is that the Indological scholarship is arrayed in the form of different schools, each with its own aims and targets. This is particularly seen in the historical studies in Upper India. There are leftist approaches and rightist approaches. Essentially speaking, the existence of different streams of thought are to be welcomed. The difficulty only arises when these become rigid and doctrinaire, leaving no scope for dialogue and intercommunication. Referring to the diametrically opposite views expressed in respect of issues like the Ayodhya mosque-mandir dispute, Ashis Nandy (2002) called the Indian historians "a garrulous lot," each group with its own version of the "historical fact." This ignores the basic tenet that the process of history reconstruction is dynamic and involves continuous interplay between facts and traditions.

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The third unhealthy trend I want to draw attention to is the coming to surface once again of the exaggerated notions of the greatness of our past. As noted earlier, Bhandarkar already made in his 1888 essay a specific reference to the boastful opinions about the superiority of Indian civilization that were then being expressed in certain quarters. There is clear evidence of a resurgence of these opinions and theories. Instead of putting up, wherever necessary, strong academic rebuttals of critical views expressed by inside or foreign scholars about our culture and religion, we seem to get nervous and shun such views by hurling eggs at the speakers and burning their books. One may cite here the shabby treatment given to Wendy Doniger's books on the Hindus (2009) and Sheldon Pollock's book *The Language of Gods in the World of Men* (2007) in which he discussed how Sanskrit formed a Metropolis in the first millennium and how this Metropolis was displaced by regional languages in the next millennium. As part of this nationalist upsurge, D.K. Chakrabarti, one of the senior archaeologists in India, wrote a book and titled it *Nation First: Essays in the Politics of Ancient Indian Studies* (2012). As if to provide a comforting female companion to "Proto-Shiva" depicted on some of the Harappan seals, the famous bronze "dancing girl" from Mohenjodaro has now been interpreted as Pārvatī (Varma 2016). Probably linked to change of political power in the country, such views have found a new nurturing base. We all know that the Hon'ble Prime Minister Modi commended ancient Indian surgery, as reflected in the animal-human body of Gaṇeśa, while inaugurating a super-speciality hospital in Bombay in 2014. There was also a flurry of research papers read at the Indian Science Congress held in Bombay in 2015, which certified that aeronautical engineering and Pythagorean theorem were known in ancient India. One can cite many such opinionated views.

A scientific approach centred around objectivity and reason and which resolutely refuses to fall a prey to easy doctrinaire orientations, is the only way to improve the situation. It is true that research methodology is introduced as part of the curriculum in many disciplines and sometimes U.G.C.–sponsored Refresher Courses are also conducted. But more often than not these amount to no more than a formality and one is not sure about the extent to which the benefits are really felt in the choice of topics taken up for higher research and the methods adopted for pursuing them. It is therefore truly inspiring to note that in the very formative stage Bhandarkar realized the need to rise above the notion of mistaking trees for the

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forest and put forward his critical, comparative and historical method to serve as a secure and unifying base for the whole range of Indological studies. Reading his writings, which are almost forgotten, even after a lapse of a full century and quarter will surely brighten our minds and infuse fresh enthusiasm for inquiries into our past.

In the societal domain too there is a crisis leading to clashes in terms of social and religious identities. Age-old practices such as child marriages and widow-burning have been put an end to but caste distinctions and religious bigotry still remain. A real worrying factor is the rise of populist Hindu religious sects promoting esoteric worship practices, giving death threats to liberal-minded people and even eliminating reformists like Dabholkar, Pansare, Kalburgi and Gauri Lankesh. Temple entries to women have been dragged to courts and even streets, as in the case of Shanishinganapur temple in Maharashtra and Ayyappa temple at Sabarimala in Kerala. Genuine fears are being voiced that in the din of these bazaar religious practices the core traditions of our ancient religious and philosophical thought are being sidelined and forgotten. With remarkable foresight and vision, Bhandarkar also recognized that his critical, comparative and historical approach has an important role to play in social life too. He remarked that this "method is necessary not only for increasing our knowledge of the world and of historical man, but also for arriving at correct views of things in ordinary practical life. I must use criticism and comparison if I wish to have a true knowledge of the character of any man, public or private, or to understand any individual action of his correctly. Criticism and comparison are necessary for the politician, the legislator, the lawyer, the merchant, and, last but not least, the newspaper writer if he is to rise above the level of scurrilous journalism" (1933c: 364). In post-Independence India Pandit Nehru was one person who, while promoting the use of science and technology in nation's development, pleaded for the inculcation of what he called scientific temper of mind on the part of every Indian. It has now been incorporated into our Constitution (Paddayya 2014: 762-73). Considering the pluralistic nature of our society and heritage, and the increasing number of identity clashes, it is impossible to exaggerate the role of the scientific approach so thoughtfully commended by Bhandarkar and Pandit Nehru. It is left to us now how and in what ways to employ this powerful mental weapon for improving the quality of interpersonal and

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intergroup relationships which constitute the fulcrum of any society and its functioning.

I have purposely chosen 'Resurrecting Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar's Indological Thought and Method' as the title of my essay. My intention is surely not one of idolizing or glorifying our past masters. Rather I want give expression to the agonizing feeling of how, while we seek to study the past, we tend to forget our predecessors and deny ourselves the amazing benefits that accrue from historiographical forays. I only intended to reassert that Bhandarkar not merely left behind several influential and path-breaking writings in Indology but made wonderful efforts to lay secure theoretical and methodological foundations for the whole discipline. Institutions like the Deccan College and Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, with which Bhandarkar and others were intimately associated for long, have a special responsibility to foster and perpetuate the scientific approach to the study of our past initiated by these pioneers, without succumbing to doctrinaire and sectarian trends of this or that hue.

Finally, we should not allow to go unnoticed Bhandarkar's contributions as a teacher and as an educator. He was cast in the mould of *Āchārya* of ancient Indian tradition and insisted that a person lacking moral character, however large may be his or her scholarship or learning, is unfit to be called a true teacher. He himself assiduously kept up to this ideal. Even a quick glance at his convocation address of 1894 at Bombay University will have a sobering effect on our minds (1933i). In this address he cautions the young graduates against narrow notions of patriotism and exhorts them to look at history as the gradual process of progress from barbarism to civilization and how this understanding enables them to appreciate the unity of humankind, irrespective of the diversity of human groups and of their cultures and languages, and their spread across the globe. He concludes by saying that we should "...from the elevated standpoint thus gained, and with our national prejudice thus cleared off, look back upon the history of our race, trace with unbiased mind its progress towards civilization and observe the phenomenon of stagnancy, or, more truly, its decline and degradation. It will then be over duty strenuously to endeavour to eradicate the causes of that decline and degradation. My friends, we are living in a momentous period in the history of India. Upon our conduct at this period depends the future of our country..." (1933i: 450). Strangely

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enough the relevance of Bhandarkar's message has not dimmed a wee bit in the twenty-first century.

No tribute is too high to be paid to Sir Ramakrishna for his rich legacy to the Indological scholarship and for his blameless character. The best and apt commendation was made by Lord Harris while unveiling Bhandarkar's portrait on the eve of his retirement from the Deccan College in 1894 **(Fig. 3)**. After paying rich compliments to him as an inspiring teacher and to his academic achievements,

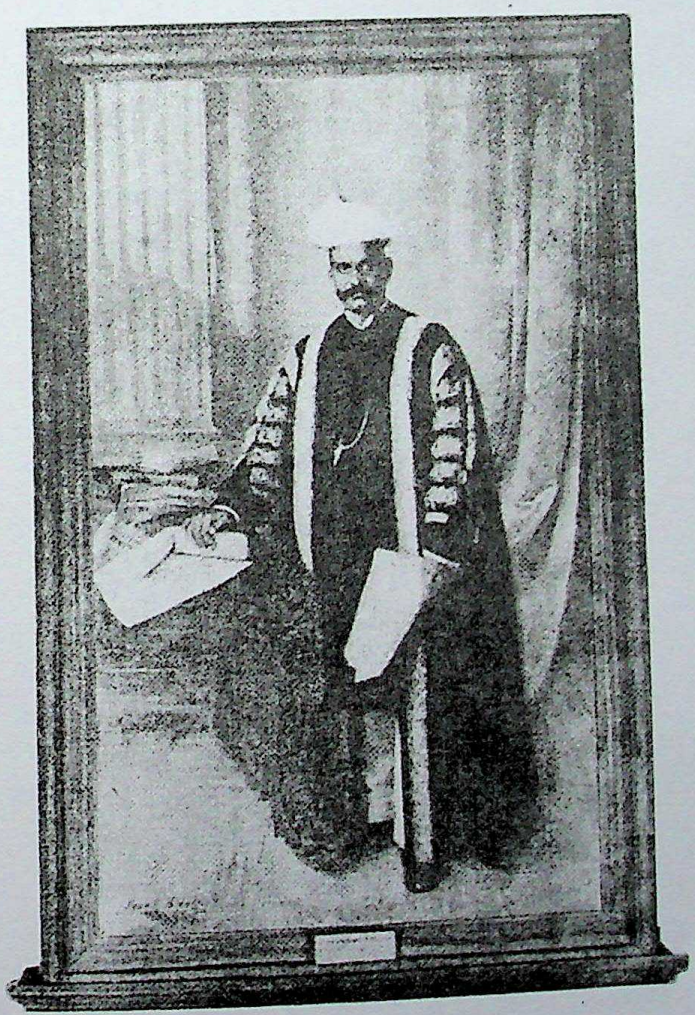

Fig. 3. Portrait of Sir R.G. Bhandarkar unveiled by Lord Harris at the Deccan College in 1894 (now in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune). After Dandekar (1976).

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Lord Harris said: "... But what I should attach far greater importance to is the example of sturdy independence of character, of contempt for what is quibbling and Lord Harris said: "... But what I should attach far greater importance to is the example of sturdy independence of character, of contempt for what is quibbling and mean, of honest intention to encourage progress and reform which the learned Doctor, both in his everyday life and in his educational career, has set" (Fraser 1902: 80).

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GLIMPSES OF ELEPHANTOLOGY IN THE *RĀJAPUTRĪYĀ* (A TEXT ON ELEPHANTS)

K.G. Sheshadri *

Introduction

Since ancient times, elephants have fascinated humans and used in eastern cultures especially for various purposes. The importance of elephants for wars, logging and transport work as well as religious purposes made their management very important for kings and vast literature dealing on their characteristics, diseases, treatment, capture, training and other aspects were written in Sanskrit and other regional languages of India. Traditionally the elephant is worshipped as Lord Gaṇeśa and is also a symbol of fertility, wealth and abundance. Some information on elephants is also found in ancient Indian poetic works and treatises on state-craft. Several known works on elephants agree in attributing the knowledge of elephantology to the Sage Pālakāpya[1]. These texts also quote several ancient authorities who are considered to have composed individual treatises on elephants. The authorities generally referred to in these texts include Vīrasena, Bṛhaspati, Nīlakaṇṭha, Vyāsa, Nārada, Rājaputra and Vaiśampāyana. However, several elephant treatises exist in the form of manuscripts in various repositories in India

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1 Harbola, P.C., "*Historical perpective of Hastyāyurveda*", Section II, Chapter. 8, In: "Veterinary science and animal husbandry in ancient India," Somavanshi, R., and Yadav M. P., (eds), Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar, U.P, 2003, pp. 51 – 59.

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as well as in private collections and various libraries abroad that are yet to be published and largely remain unknown. Some of these texts are richly illustrated and have not been critically edited. Likewise there exists oral folklore on elephants related especially to training, capture, treatment of diseases that have not been fully documented. These also contribute to rich knowledge of elephants. Apart from the published and known texts, some of the earlier treatises of elephants by these ancient authorities appear to have been lost over a course of time and are available only in the form of extracts quoted by later texts. These texts also need to be researched and studied as they contribute to some aspects of elephants not dealt in other available treatises.

Earlier Sanskrit and other Regional Elephant treatises

Maharṣi Pālakāpya's treatise titled the '*Hastyāyurveda*'[2] is an elaborate text in the form of a discourse between king Romapāda and Sage Pālakāpya. It deals extensively on characteristics, behaviour, elephant diseases and their remedies in about 20,000 or more verses. The entire text is divided into four sections named *Mahārogasthāna, Kṣudrarogasthāna, Śalyasthāna* and *Uttarasthāna*. Some other texts such as the *Agnipurāṇa*[3], *Garuḍapurāṇa*[4] and *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*[5] also refer to Pālakāpya and draw some materials from his treatise that have been discussed in

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2 Sharma, Pt. Shivadutta, *Maharṣi Pālakāpya's 'Hastyāyurveda'* – Sanskrit text, Anandashram Sanskrit Series, No.26, Poona, 1894.

3 Joshi, K. L. (Ed.), Dutt, M. N. (translation), *Agnipurāṇa - Text with translation,* Parimal Publications, Delhi, 2001, Chap. 287.

4 Shastri, J. L., *Garuḍapurāṇa*, Vol. 13, Pt. 2, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1979.

5 Venkatanathacharya, N. S., *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra.*, Oriental Research Institute, Series No. 158, Mysore, 1986.

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literature[6,7]. Other such texts on elephants include the '*Gajalakṣaṇa*'[8] in the form of a dialogue between king Nahuṣa and Bṛhaspati, sage Nārada's *'Gaja Śikṣā'*[9] and later texts like *'Mataṅgalīla'*[10] of Nīlakaṇṭha. Several such treatises have been briefly discussed in recent publications[11,12]. The '*Hastividyārṇava*'[13] of Sukumar Barkaith is a richly illustrated text composed under patronage of Ahom kings of Assam dealing on the mythological origins, characteristics of different kinds of elephants, modes of training and care, construction of elephant stables and treatment of diseases. The Ganga king Saigoṭṭa Śivamāra (800 c. A.D.) had written a treatise on '*Gajaśāstra or Śivamāramata*'[14] as mentioned in an inscription. This work is in *Grantha* script and also possesses an incomplete commentary. This work

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6 Prasad, P.V.V., Subhakatha, P. K. J. P., Narayana, A., *"Medical information in Agnipurāṇam"*, Journal of Indian Institute of History of Medicine, Vol. XXXVII, No.1, Jan-June 2007, pg. 87-105.

7 Varanasi, Subhose., Narayana, A., *"Paśu Āyurveda (Veterinary Medicine) in Garuḍapurāṇa"*, Journal of Indian Institute of History of Medicine, Vol. XXXVII, No.2, July-December 2007, pg. 117-134.

8 Raghavan, V., Raja, C. Kunhan., *"New Catalogus Catalogorum (NCC) - an alphabetical register of Sanskrit and allied works and authors"*, Vol. V., University of Madras, 1969.

9 Sarma, E. R. Sreekrishna., *Gajaśikṣā of Nārada Muni with commentary 'Vyakti' of Umāpatyācārya,* Sri Venkateshwara University Oriental Journal, Vol.18, Offprint No. 5, 1975.

10 Edgerton, Franklin., *The Elephant Lore of the Hindus – Translation of 'Mataṅgalīlā' of Nīlakaṇṭha,* Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, Delhi, 1985.

11 Cheeran, Jacob. V., *"Elephantology in Sanskrit,"* Gajah - Journal of the Asian Elephant Specialist Group, Sri Lanka , Vol.39, 2013, pg. 24 – 29.

12 Bhattacharya, Vinayatosa; Sri Gondekar, G. K., *"Sanskrit works on elephants"*, Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Institute, Vol. X, Pt. 3, 1924, pg. 317 -324.

13 Choudhary, Pratap Chandra., *Hastividyārṇava,* Publication Board, Guwahati, Assam, 1976.

14 Narasimhachar, R., *"Gajaśāstra or Śivamāramata of Ganga king Saigoṭṭa Śivamāra as quoted in Karṇāṭaka Kavicaritre"*, Vol. I, Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, 1972.

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titled '*Kalpanāratna*'[15] has been edited in five *Paricchedas*. The work quotes another ancient work on elephantology in the opening verses of the commentary namely *'Mahānāgakalpanā'* that has not come down to us yet. Apart from these treatises dealing on elephants, there also exists some information on elephants in '*Lokopakāra*'[16] of Chāvuṇḍarāya II, a poet scholar of Karnataka in court of Jayasiṁha II (1015 – 1042 A.D), the '*Śivatattvaratnākara*'[17] an encyclopedic text of Keladi Basavarāja and '*Mānasollāsa*'[18] of Chalukyan king Someśvara (1131 A.D). The aspects of elephantology in these texts of Karnataka have been dealt in recent literature[19].

Rājaputrīya – A text on Elephants

Several unknown treatises on elephants have not been explored by scholars and exist in form of partial extracts or in private collections in India and abroad. These texts need to be studied and explored for their contributions to enrich the knowledge regarding elephants in India. One of them is the '*Rājaputrīya*' that is copiously quoted in several ancient texts. Although there exists several fragments of the manuscripts of this text and also in the form of quotations in later texts, no critical edition of the text has yet been published. However, it is an ancient text as many authors and commentators quote several extracts from the work. Sage *Pālakāpya's 'Hastyāyurveda'* is an ancient text. The date of the text cannot be

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15 Rao, H. V. Nagaraj., *Kalpanāratnam of Śivamāra Bhūpāla,* Poornaprajna Samshodhana Mandiram, Bangalore, 2009.

16 Shesha Iyengar, H., *Lokopakāra of Chāvuṇḍarāya,* Text in Kannada, Kannada Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore, 2002; Also "English translation of chapters from *Lokopakāra",* Nene, Y. L., Sadhale, Nalini., Dave, Shakuntala., Bhalerao, Umashashi., Asian Agri-History Foundation Bulletin No. 6, Secunderabad (AP), 2006.

17 Shastry, Vidwan S. Narayana Swamy, *Śivatattvaratnākara'- an encyclopedic text of Keladi Basavarāja,* Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore, Vols. I-III, 1964.

18 Sri Gondekar, G.K., *Mānasollāsa' of Chalukyan king Someśvara,* Vol. II, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No.84, Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, 2001.

19 Sheshadri, K. G., *"Elephantology in Ancient Kannada Literature",* Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society, Vol.107, No. 4, October – December 2016, pg. 1-36.

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determined with any certainty. *Kṣīrasvāmin*, a scholar of late 3rd c. A. D. who was the author of the commentary '*Amarakośodghāṭana*' is considered by some to be a Kashmirian scholar of 8th c. A. D. or a scholar who lived somewhere in Central India in late 11th c. A. D. The quotations of *Pālakāpya's* text by *Kṣīrasvāmin* prove that the *Hastyāyurveda* is earlier than the first half of the 12th c. A. D. Some scholars state that if the Ganga king of Karnataka, *Śivamāra* who was the author of '*Gajāṣṭaka*' was acquainted with the treatise, then *Pālakāpya's* text was to be earlier than 8th c. A. D. Pandit Haraprasad Shastri is of the opinion that the work may be dated to 5th or 6th c. A. D. as discussed in literature[20]. Some scholars state that the *Hastyāyurveda* is later than *Suśrutasaṁhitā* or *Charakasaṁhitā* as it betrays the influence of these classics. *Pālakāpya* is quoted or referred to in the *Agnipurāṇa, Garuḍapurāṇa, Matsyapurāṇa*[21] and *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*[22]. Based on the above references, some scholars state that the *Hastyāyurveda* can be dated to the 6th c. B.C. The above discussion on the date of *Pālakāpya's* text is significant in order to place the date of the *Rājaputrīya*. Sage *Pālakāpya's* text states that the '*Rājaputrīya*' is a work on elephantology. The first chapter of the treatise mentions a large number of sages who assemble at the court of King Romapāda of which one of them is prince Bāṣkali who is called *'Rājaputra'*. The *Hastyāyurveda* [*Śalyasthāna,* III.8.299] quotes the views of Rājaputra stating that there are four classes of elephants namely *Mṛga, Bhadra, Manda and Mandamṛga.* The *Matsyapurāṇa* [Chap.24] states that the '*Rājaputrīya*' is a work on elephantology by Budha (the planet Mercury who is called Rājaputra and being the son of Somarāja, the Moon). Rājaputra is also referred to as an ancient authority on elephants by the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*[23], *Agnipurāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa.*

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20 Shastri, H. P., *"Contributions of Bengal to Hindu civilization – Taming and Treatment of Elephants"*, Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V., Part. III, September 1919, pg. 307-312.

21 Singh, Nag Sharan, *Matsyapurāṇam, with English translation of H. H. Wilson,* Nag Publishers, Vols. I-II, New Delhi, 1997.

22 Shah, Priyabala, *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa, Text with English translation,* Vols. I-III, Parimal Publications, New Delhi, 2005.

23 Tagare, G. V., *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa,* Vols. 22-26, Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology series, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1999.

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Works and Authors quoting the *Rājaputrīya*

The views of *Rājaputra* on several aspects of elephants are quoted by various authors and works. The earliest such works quoting his authority are found in *Pālakāpya's Hastyāyurveda* and the *Purāṇas* as discussed above. Several other Post Vedic texts like the *Kāvyas*, works on elephantology and other general works quote *Rājaputra*. Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*[24] of Varāhamihira, the *Śukranīti* [25] of Śukrācārya, *Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra* [26] , the *Bṛhadyātrā* [27] of Varāhamihira and the *Smṛti* works do not refer to him.

Rājaputra is referred to as a writer on *Kāmaśāstra* in the *Kuṭṭanīmata*[28] (122) of Dāmodaragupta as well as according to the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (NCC)[29]. The *Tantravārttika*[30] of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, a gloss on Śabarasvāmin's commentary (*Bhāṣya*) on the *Pūrvamīmāṁsasūtra,* dated to about 8th c. A. D. quotes Rājaputra as an authority on elephants. Somadevasūri in his *Nītivākyāmṛta*[31] commentary also mentions Rājaputra. His other work namely the

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24 Bhat, M. Ramakrishna, *Varāhamihira Bṛhatsaṁhitā,* Motilal Banarasidass Publishers, New Delhi, Vols. I-II, 1981.

25 Lal, Krishna., *The Śukranīti - Original Sanskrit text with English translation,* J. P. Publishing House, New Delhi, 2005.

26 Venkatanathacharya, N. S., *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra.,* Oriental Research Institute, Series No. 158, Mysore, 1986.

27 Pingree, David., *Bṛhadyātrā of Varāhamihira,* Bulletin of Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (BGOML), Vol. 20, Chennai, 1972.

28 Kaul, Madhusudhan., *Kuṭṭanīmata Kāvyam of Dāmodaragupta,* Bibliotheca Indica Series, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata, 1944.

29 Dash, Siniruddha., *"New Catalogus Catalogorum* (NCC) - *an alphabetical register of Sanskrit and allied works and authors"*, Vol. XXIII., University of Madras, 2011, See under *Rājaputrīya*

30 Jha, Ganganath., *Tantravārttika of Kumārilabhaṭṭa, A gloss on Śabarasvāmin's commentary (Bhāṣya) on the Pūrvamīmāṁsasūtra,* Bibliotheca Indica Series, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata, 1903.

31 Jayaswal, K. P., *"New light on Hindu Political Science Literature - Commentary of Somadevasūri on Nītivākyāmṛta quoted"*, Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XI, March 1925, pg.70.

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'*Yaśastilakacampū*'[32] dated to 959 c. A. D. also quotes Rājaputra among other authorities who authored elephant treatises. The '*Sūktiratnahāra*' [33] of Kaliṅgarāyasūrya, an anthology quotes *Rājaputrīya* in the section on horses though it is known as a treatise on elephants. Mallināṭha, the famous commentator belonged to the Kolachalma family of Andhra Pradesh and was associated with the *Kākaṭiyas* of Warangal dated to 1450 c. A. D. He quotes the views of *Rājaputrīya* in his commentary to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*[34]. The *Adbhutasāgara*[35] of the Sena King of Bengal namely Ballālasena (1158-1187 c. A. D.) quotes extensively from the work of Rājaputra with regard to various aspects on elephants. Most of these verses quoted by Ballālasena are also found in other works such as the '*Adbhutadarpaṇa*' [36] of Mādhava of Vatsagotra and belonging to Budhavāla Dumara family dated to 1650-1750 c. A. D. period as well as in the '*Gajeṅgīta*'[37] section in *Saṁhitāskandha* of *Bṛhatjyotiśārṇava* composed by Harikṛṣṇa Veṅkaṭarāma Jyotirvid (18th. c. A. D.) of Aurangabad. Rājaputra's work is also quoted by Rājaguru Godāvara Miśra, the scholar in Gajapati Pratāparudradeva's court. The latter was the last *Sūryavaṁśi* king (1497-1540 c. A. D) of Orissa. Godāvaramiśra quotes some extracts of '*Rājaputrīya*' in his work titled

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32 Handiqui, K.K., *"Yaśastilakacampū and Indian culture"*, Jaina Sanskriti Samrakshaka Sangha, Sholapur, Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala No. 2, 1949. Also Sanskrit text – Shastri, Pt. Sundarlal., *Yaśastilakacampū of Somadeva*, Bharatavarshiya Anekanta Vidwat Parishat.

33 Raghavan, V., *Sūktiratnahāra of Kaliṅgarāyasūrya*, Journal of Oriental Research Madras, Vol.13. Pt. 4, 1939, pg.293-306.

34 Kale, M. R., *Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa with the 'Sanjīvinī' commentary of Mallināṭha*, Cantos I-V, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 2008.

35 Jha, Pt. Murali Dhara., *Adbhuta Sāgara of Ballālasenadeva*, Prabhakari & Co., Varanasi, 1905.

36 Jha, Pt.Ramachandra, Jha, Shri Dharmanatha., *Adhutadarpaṇa of Mādhava*, Maharaja Kameshwarsingh Granthamala series, Kameshwar Singh Darbhanga Sanskrit University, Darbhanga, 1985.

37 *'Gajeṅgita'* section in *Saṁhitāskandha* of *Bṛhatjyotiśārṇava* composed by Harikṛṣṇa Veṅkaṭarāma Jyotirvid, Accessed online from Endangered Archives Programme website, London - https://eap.bl.uk/

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'*Hariharacaturaṅga*'[38]. Interestingly, the *Rājaputrīya* is also quoted by another scholar Mitra Miśra in his '*Vīramitrodaya*'[39], an encyclopaedia on various subjects. Mitra Miśra was a scholar in the court of Vīrasiṁhadeva (1605-1627 c. A. D.), the grandson of Pratāparudradeva of Orissa.

The '*Rājaputrīya*' is however not quoted by Bhoja in his '*Yuktikalpataru*'[40], '*Gajaśikṣā*' of Nāradamuni, the *Śivatattvaratnākara* of Keladi Basavarāja or the '*Mānasollāsa*' of Chālukya Someśvara. The work is however mentioned by Nīlakaṇṭha in his '*Mātaṅgalīlā*', a work on elephants. From these discussions, it is evident that a work '*Rājaputrīya*' existed from ancient times as several writers from *Pālakāpya* (6th c. B. C.) to about writers up to 17th -18th c. A. D. like Harikṛṣṇa Veṅkaṭarāma Jyotirvid quote extracts from it. However it still remains to be discovered in its entirety. It is also not known if the complete work was available to the early writers such as Mallinātha, Somadevasūrī and Ballālasena. However from the available extracts, it seems that the work dealt on considerable information about elephants. The various chapters in the text are still unknown but the contents of some of the chapters of '*Rājaputrīya*' can be classified under the following heads and the extracts from the text pertaining to them are elaborated under each of them as below –

[A] Classification of Elephants –

Sanskrit treatises on elephants mention four classes of elephant such as *Bhadra, Manda, Mṛga* and Miśra. These have been well discussed in recent literature[41] and their characteristics are briefly tabulated in Tab.1.

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38 Shastri, S. K. Ramanatha., *Hariharacaturaṅga of Godāvara Miśra*, Madras Government Oriental Series, No. XVII., 1950.

39 Miśra, Pt. Mitra., *Lakṣaṇaprakāśa section of 'Vīramitrodaya,* Chowkhambha Sanskrit series, Vol. V, Varanasi, 1987, Section on elephants.

40 Shastri, Pt. Ishvara Chandra., *Yuktikalpataru of Bhoja,* Printed by Abhinash Chandra Mandal, Siddheshwar Machine Press, Kolkata, 1917.

41 Chitra, Bedekar., "Types of elephants - Ayurvedic aspect", In : *Animals and Birds in Sanskrit literature*, Mahulikar, Gauri (ed.), New Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 2015, pg.30-47.

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Tab. 1. Classes of elephants and their characteristics in Sanskrit treatises

Elephant class	Characteristics
Bhadra	Best and handsome elephants having reddish brown eyes, long tail, lofty portions in the front. It sports and makes attacks by its teeth.
Maṇḍala or Manda	Slack and bulky, skin is irregular. Elephant has tawny eyes similar to a lion. They have large head, nails and strong tusks. It sports in spring season, makes attack with the trunk.
Mṛga	These elephants are feeble, timid and depressed in nature. They have soft neck, thin skin, tusks and nails. They sport in winter and make attacks with lips.
Miśra	Elephants of lowest category, having a mixture of characteristics. They make attacks with the whole body.

Godāvara Miśra in his work titled '*Hariharacaturaṅga*' [I.167-168] quotes Rājaputra's views on the characteristics of elephants as –

भद्रो मन्दो मृगश्चैव मन्दो मृगमनास्तथा । चतस्रो जातयस्त्वेवं राजपुत्रमते स्मृताः ।
सङ्कीर्ण एक एवेह राजपुत्रमते स्थितः ॥

[B] Color of Elephants (*Varṇalakṣaṇam*) – Some texts on elephants deal on the various colours and shades of elephants and are also illustrated in some manuscripts. These colours and shades arise due to various causes such as food intake, changes in *doṣas* (fundamental bodily humours due to wind, phlegm and bile), country, class, effects of planets and asterisms, the *Lagna*, constellation and its previous *karma* causing change in the *dhātus* (fundamental principles that support the basic structure and functioning of the body such as lymph, blood, muscles, fat, bone, marrow and semen).

The texts mention colours such as green, red, black, blackish-red, yellow, white of which commentators on these texts state that some colours like green, red, white, yellow do not occur in the present *Kaliyuga*. Elephants with colours like black, black with bluish tinge of a cloud or white are considered to be good omens.

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The views of Rājaputra on these colors are not however found in any extracts although the work may have dealt about them.

[C] Whorls and Marks on The Bodies of Elephants [*Āvartalakṣaṇam*] -

Several texts on elephants devote sections on the birth marks found on the bodies of elephants that appear in circular (whorls) and other shapes. Ancient experts in elephantology consider the shapes such as conch, earthern pot, fish, mirror, bull, lamp, sacrificial fire place, arrow, cowrie, umbrella to be auspicious. The appearance of whorls on cheeks, temples, throat, jaw, chin, penis, flanks, hips, nails, thighs and scrotum are considered inauspicious and bring misfortune. Such features were used by ancient experts on elephants in selecting and purchasing them for royal purposes. The examination of whorls on the elephant's body belongs to the realm of physiognomy (*Sāmudrikaśāstra*) and has not been explored scientifically as yet by Modern elephant researchers. The '*Vīramitrodaya*' of Mitra Miśra while discussing about elephants in the *'Lakṣaṇaprakāśa'* quotes a lost treatise on elephants titled '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*'[42] (HHP). No manuscript of this work has come down to us and only extracts of the work are quoted in the *'Lakṣaṇaprakāśa'*. The aspects of elephantology dealt in this text have been recently elaborated in literature[43]. However it may be dated later to *Rājaputra's* work as it quotes his views regarding whorls as follows –

प्रशस्तो दक्षिणावर्तो वामवर्तो विगर्हितः ।

'Whorls on the right are auspicious and those on the left are inauspicious'.

[D] On Sensitivities by Goads and Weapons [*Veditalakṣaṇam*] –

Several ancient treatises on elephants speak of sensitivities of elephants when subjected to stimuli used by *mahouts* such as being struck by weapons or other

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42 Miśra, Pt. Mitra., Ibid., Section on elephants - *Hastihṛdayaprabandha* [HHP], pg. 365ff.

43 Sheshadri, K. G., *"Elephantology in extracts from the Hastihṛdayaprabandha"*, Journal of Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. 66, Nos. 1-4, Sep-Dec 2016 – March-June 2017, pg. 157-171.

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instruments. Special code of communication is used by elephant experts to train, subjugate and remove fear in elephants. These have been elaborately treated in '*Mānasollāsa*' of Chalukyan king Someśvara. The elephants that are struck by goads at various parts of the body respond sensitively in different ways that is generally said to be five-fold. These include sensitiveness of being extreme (*Atyartha* – elephant understands the intention of the mahout merely upon holding up the goad), shallow (*Uttāna* – it understands the orders by mere touch of the goad), deep (*Gambhīra* – elephant has to be hit hard till he bleeds and understands commands only after a long time), conformable to meaning (*Anvartha* – elephant with right understanding of orders and acts accordingly) and contrary to meaning (*Pratyartha* – elephant acts contrary to the commands). Nīlakaṇṭha in his '*Mātaṅgalīlā*' [VIII.18-25] speaks of seven fold sensitivity of elephants and describes them in detail. The '*Śivatattvaratnākara*' [VII.11.91-94] also describes the above mentioned sensitivities. It adds that the *Anvarthavedī* elephants are recommended for use as royal mounts and royal vehicles [VII. 11. 103 – 109]. Mallinātha quotes the views of *Rājaputrīya* in his commentary to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* [IV.39] on sensitiveness. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* [IV.39] quotes the deep sensitivity of elephants as –

अङ्कुशं द्विरदस्येव यन्ता गम्भीरवेदिनः ॥

Mallinātha quotes Rājaputra's views regarding this deep sensitivity that is deep into the skin and flesh (when struck by stimuli of driver) thus accompanied by discharges of blood and danger of suffocation as follows –

त्वग्भेदाच्छोणितस्रावान्मांसस्य क्रथनादपि आत्मानं यो न जानाति स स्याद्गम्भीरवेदिता ॥

[E] Stages of Life –

The '*Gajaśāstram*'[44] of Sage Pālakāpya describes the various stages in the life of an elephant. The life span of elephants is generally said to be of 120 years although many perish before that age limit. The life of an elephant can be divided

44 Mahiskar, Vaidya Prof. V.B., Wakankar, Siddharth Yashwant, *Maharṣi Pālakāpya's Gajaśāstram with Sanskrit Commentary 'Bhāvasandarśinī' of Anantakṛṣṇabhaṭṭāraka,* Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, New Delhi, 2006.

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into two major parts from birth to the end of the 5th stage (up to 50 years). From 50 to 60 years, they start losing their strength gradually. The life span from age of the 11th year up to utmost age of 120 years is divided in eleven stages of ten years each. Sage Pālakāpya gives specific names of the elephants for the different age groups from birth up to 120 years. Nīlakaṇṭha in his '*Mātaṅgalīlā*' says that life span of elephant is up to 80 years. Haṁsadeva in his *Mṛgapakṣiśāstra*[45] states that life span is 100 years. The '*Mātaṅgalīlā*' also describes the stages of life of an elephant [V.1-23]. The whole description is said to be a quotation from the *Rājaputrīya*. These are described as '*Bālā*' (1 year), '*Puccuka*' (2nd year), '*Upasarpa*' (3rd year), '*Barbara*' (4th year), '*Kaḷabha*' (5th year), *'Naikārika'* (6th year), *'Śiśu'* (7th year), *'Majjana'* (8th year), *'Dantāruṇa'* (9 years), *'Vikka'* (10 years), *'Pota'* (2nd decade), *'Javana'* (3rd stage equivalent of 30 years), '*Kalyāṇa*' (40 years), *'Yaudha'* (50 years) and *'Vṛddha'* (60 years). However, Edgerton's text does not quote *Rājaputrīya* but states that verses numbered as 2, 16, 17, 21, 22 in the text '*Mātaṅgalīlā*' of Nīlakaṇṭha edited by him are either from *Rājaputra's* work or '*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*' of king Bhoja. But these verses are not found in the edited work of Bhoja.

[F] Musth and Ichor in Elephants –

Various states of intoxication in rutting elephants are enumerated in ancient Indian texts. Of these, the descriptions given in the *'Yaśastilakacampū'* of Somadeva by a military commander to prince *Yaśodara* are excellent. Somadeva also enumerates different methods of treatment of rutting elephants. The *'Śivatattvaratnākara'* [VII.11.204] also mentions the eight types of ichor (Greek for mustha/mad) –

वासा च नागरं शीथुर्घर्मश्च मदशीकरौ । चिक्का मुखश्च करिणां मदनामानि चाष्टधा ॥

These flow from parts of elephant's body namely the waist, two ears, two eyes, chest, testicles, trunk, breasts and feet. Basavarāja states that a king should select the best elephants after carefully examining them.

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45 Sadhale, Nalini., Nene, Y. L., *Mṛgapakśiśāstra (MPS) of Hamsadeva*, Text with translation, Asian Agri-History Foundation, Secunderabad, 2008.

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Even more interesting are the recipes given by the '*Mānasollāsa*' [*Viṁśati* IV, *Gajavāhyāvalīvinoda,* III.453-465] of Chalukyan king Someśvara to cause outflow and also increase of rut flow, create fragrances in the ichor and produce colors in the ichor of elephants that have been dealt in literature[46].

The '*Adbhutasāgara*' [Section on *Gajādbhutāvarta*] of Ballālasena, the '*Adhbhutadarpaṇa*' [*Hastyādhbhutam*] of Mādhava and the '*Gajeṅgita*' section in *Saṁhitāskandha* of *Bṛhatjyotiśārṇava* all quote extensive details on rut flow according to views of Rājaputra. According to him, if even after attaining a stage, an elephant does not get rut flow, it portends certain events. His observations on rut flow are very keen, scientific and interesting. The omens of rut flow at various stages of the life of an elephant according to Rājaputra are as tabulated in Tab. 2. If rut flow occurs in the early morning or at night, it portends that the journey (or March of a king) is not fruitful. He adds that a King must perform pacificatory rituals for this kind of rut flow and offer a feast to Brahmins. Rājaputra also states that elephant of age within 10 years or the next stage (*Pota*) have different stages of intoxication. This is evident from his descriptions as quoted by Ballālasena –

अतिस्थूलाः कृशाश्चापि श्रान्ताश्च व्याधितास्तथा । यत्र च्छिक्काः प्रभिद्यन्ते कटाभ्यां कोशतस्तथा ।
शिरोभिस्यन्दतो रोगान्मूत्राभिस्यन्दतोऽपि वा । अथ चैद्युगपन्माद्येत् कटाभ्यां कोशतस्तथा ।
विवर्णं गन्धहीनं च तदपि व्याधिलक्षणम् । मदं मन्दगुणैर्युक्तं यदा स्रवति पोतकः ॥

"If the elephant is too bulky or thin or fatigued and rut is flowing from the temples, or parts near the middle of the elephant's body or the penis, flowing from the head or accompanied by flowing urine or such discharges occur in both parts with discoloration and bereft of smell then these are the indications of diseases. In case of the young elephants in the stage (known as *Pota*), the flow of rut is very slow".

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46 Sadhale, Nalini., Nene, Y. L., *"On Elephants in Mānasollāsa"*, Chap. 32 [Characteristics, Habitat, Methods of Capturing and training], Chap.33 [Diseases and treatment], Chap. 34 [*Gajavāhyālīvinoda*- Sports with elephants in the arena] in Nene, Y. L., *'Glimpses of Agricultural Heritage of India'*, Asian Agri-History Foundation, Secunderabad (AP), 2007, pp. 215- 256.

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Tab. 2. Omens of rut flow in various stages of elephant according to Rājaputra

Stage of Life	Portents / Predictions
First year (Rut being fragrant or bad smell)	Destroys Kingdom
Second year	Troubles to Brahmins, crops are destroyed, several diseases.
Third year	Troubles to Kshatriyas and *Vidvāns* (loss of knowledgeable persons) (*Vidyāvyasanaṁ*)
Fourth year	Death of ministers or priests.
Fifth year	Inauspicious, fear of enemies.
Sixth year	Death of King.
Seventh year	Death or disease to King.
Eighth year	Ominous, destroys treasury, palace, minister and servants.
Ninth year	Great fear.
Tenth year	Great enemity, instant death of King.

Irregular and inauspicious rut flow in the second stage (decade) of elephant forebodes drought for a period of 5 years. Further Rājaputra also gives the extensive details of rut flow in female elephants as follows -

स्रावः कश्चित् प्रवर्तेत कटाभ्यां नैव कोशतः ॥ शिरोऽभिस्यन्दरोगस्तु निर्गन्धो न मदः स्मृतः ।
स्रावः कोशाद्भवेद्यस्तु कटाभ्यां न प्रवर्तते ॥ मूत्राभिक्षरणे चैव तद्गन्धो न मदो भवेत् ।
उभयत्रापि मिर्गन्धं यदा स्रवति हस्तिनी ॥ तद्धि वैकारिकं दानं विद्याद्व्याधिसमुद्भवम् ।

"In case, the discharges occur in the region of temples and not in the penis, flowing from the head but bereft of smell, then it is not regarded as rut flow. Likewise discharges from the penis only and not occurring in the temples with urine flowing near or around the penis with smell are also not regarded as rut flow. If the discharges occur in both places without smell in female elephants, then subject to modification it leads to diseases".

Also, he states that rut flow accompanied by vomiting of elephant and formation of discharges in infected tissues portends inauspicious events. The omens

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of rut flow in female elephants is also elaborated by Rājaputra and briefly tabulated in Tab.3.

Tab. 3. Omens of rut flow in female elephants according to Rājaputra

Characteristics of rut flow	Predictions
Rut flow in city, country or forest.	Destroys the king and his family or if in the herd, destroys the herd leader.
If on rut flow, it runs hither thither and dances.	Troubles to the country and other camps.
If on rut flow, it releases urine and dung.	Destroys the king and his family, great fear to country and city.
If on rut flow, the flow dries and due to thirst it runs hither-thither.	Forebodes drought, bad rain and fear of enemies.
If rut flow is drunk or tasted by the male when female elephant is in battlefield.	Great fear in city.
Rut flow accompanied with release of dung and urine.	Destroys wealth and grains. In this case pacificatory ceremonies are to be done.
Rut flow with blood oozing in the mouth and elephant running hither thither.	The tusks are to be arranged properly in its skin. Portends inauspiciousness and one must perform *Nīrājanavidhiḥ* in the night.

[G] Tusks of the Elephant –

Some interesting observations of tusks of elephants are found in Sanskrit literature. The art of cutting tusks of elephants is known as '*Kalpana*' and the ivory obtained is used for making useful articles. The '*Kalpanāratna*' [IV.99-105a] of Śivamāra Bhūpāla gives excellent descriptions of elephant tusks that are briefly discussed in literature[47]. Śivamāra himself had authored another work namely '*Gajāṣṭaka*' that has been recorded in the 25th inscription of Hosanagara in Shimoga

47 Sheshadri, K. G., *"Elephantology in Ancient Kannada Literature"*, Ibid., 2016.

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district of Karnataka. This is said to be based on Sage Pālakāpya's *Hastyāyurveda*. It is thus possible that Śivamāra also knew the views of Rājaputra. The reason for this conclusion is based on the fact that both the '*Kalpanāratna*' and '*Rājaputrīya*' deal extensively on tusks of elephants that are not found in other texts except the '*Hastyāyurveda*'. *Rājaputra's* views on tusks are even more elaborate than Śivamāra or Sage Pālakāpya. His work deals on various aspects of the tusks of elephants, omens due to its growth or breaking accompanied by various factors, fading of tusks, the omens of shapes observed when tusks are cut, the omens of *Puṣpas* (certain marks) and lines on tusks. These can be elaborated under the following heads –

***Dantabhaṅga* (Breaking of tusks) -**

The *Rājaputrīya* gives the causes for breaking of tusks of elephants due to disease, old age, pain, or due to some portents or due to divine cause. These are quoted by Ballālasena in his work as follows -

व्याधिना वाऽभिभूतस्य जरया पीडितस्य वा । दैवपीडा निमित्ताद्वा गजदन्तव्यथा भवेत् ॥

He mentions seven *Bhaṅgayonis* (forms of breaking of tusks) -

सकलापगमो भङ्गः शौषिर्यं दन्तुराननम् । चलनं जर्जरत्वं च पाटनं च तथा भवेत् ॥

"Tusks can part all over (into parts), break, become hollow, unevenly projecting, shaking, break into pieces or being crushed, or develop cracks".

The breaking of tusks can happen at the root, middle or its front tip according to time period of three months, six months or one year. The breaking of tusks may forebode auspicious or inauspicious events. There are also astrological factors associated with the breaking of tusks. If tusks of an elephant break during the asterisms (in which the Moon is placed) such as *Jyeṣṭha, Mūlā, Viśākhā, Punarvasu, Rohiṇī, Uttaraphālguni, Uttarāṣāḍha* and *Uttarabhādrapada*, then it is considered auspicious. Likewise, breaking of tusks in *Svāti, Aśvinī, Dhaniṣṭha, Revatī, Puśya, Hasta, Chitra* and *Śravaṇa* also produces good results. Breaking of tusks in the asterisms *Ārdrā, Pūrvaphalguni, Pūrvāṣāḍha, Pūrvabhādrapada, Bharaṇī, Maghā* and *Āśleṣa* is ominous. Rājaputra states in another context that it is ominous to cut

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the tusk or occurrence of break in the tusk at inauspicious places especially under the asterisms of *Uttaraphālguni*, *Uttarāṣāḍha* and *Uttarabhādrapada*, *Viśākhā*, *Punarvasu* and *Rohiṇī*. Likewise it is inauspicious for tusks to break in inauspicious places under the asterisms *Chitrā*, *Aśvinī*, *Dhaniṣṭha*, *Revatī*, *Puṣya*, *Hasta*, *Mṛgaśira*, *Svātī and Śravaṇa*. He adds that one must not cut tusks in such inauspicious forbidden periods as well as places that are forbidden. Other omens and portents that occur due to breaking of tusks according to Rājaputra's views are as tabulated in Tab. 4.

***Dantacchede* (Cutting of tusks) -**

The '*Śivatattvaratnākara*' [VII.11.149-154] describes the details of sawing of elephant tusks, the seasons and time of operation, consequences or omens arising by chopping the tusks based on shapes of cleaved surface of tusks after carefully examining them. These shapes include the *śrīvṛkṣa* (Ficus religiosa or sacred Fig tree), *Vardhamāna* (a sacred figure), *Chatra* (umbrella), *Dhvaja* (flag), *Chāmara* (whisk), *Nandyāvarta* (one of eight auspicious symbols), *Kṛkālasa* (lizard or chameleon), *Kapi* (monkey), *Bhujaṅga* (serpent), *Gṛdhra* (vulture), *Ulūka* (owl), *Dhvāṅkṣa* (crow) and *śyena* (eagle). The odours emitted by the chopped surface are also dealt in the text. The '*Kalpanāratna*' [IV.99-105a] of Śivamāra Bhūpāla gives excellent descriptions of elephant tusks that mention the conditions and time period under which elephant tusks are to be cut. Rājaputra also mentions various shapes that are observed when tusks are cut as well as the odours emitted. The omens pertaining to cutting of tusks are tabulated in Tab. 5

Tab.4. Predictions/Omens based on breaking of tusks of elephant according to Rājaputra

Causes and factors of breaking of tusks	Auspicious predictions/Omens
Breaking of front tip of tusk striking earth or in water	Obtains wealth in a journey
While sporting or playing in water	Good rain
Tusk breaks at sunrise	King obtains sons, wealth and grains

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Middle portions of tusk of a female break, blood oozes	King gets sons and Trees bestow flowers and fruits
Tusk on the right breaks and blood oozes	In one year, the kingdom is ruined
Both tusks are destroyed in war	Destroys son of king
Outer regions of tusk are shattered or broken	King gets separated from women or also forebodes death of women
Tusk breaks in the previous evening twilight period or night.	Fear of touch by *Śūdras, Mlecchas and Dasyus*.
Tusk breaks at sunset or in the asterism of *Kṛttikā*	Loss of wealth
Tusk breaks, root of tusk oozes with blood and the tusk is crushed into pieces	Destruction of king
Tip of tusk of an elephant in war breaks	Destruction of wife or warrior in a year
Elephant strikes another elephant with tusks and makes it fall to right or left	Destruction of king
Inner cracks develop in the tusks	King gets wives
Right tusk breaks in the middle	Affects the treasury, son, minister, kingdom, materials, city, vehicles of royalty and army
Tusks which are faded break	Destruction of wealth.
Breaking of tusk accompanied by blood oozing severely	Destroys the benefits of *Yātrā*
Tusk breaks into three parts at the root, middle and tip	Destruction of king in war
An elephant in rut strikes another in rut breaking the tusks	No rains and drought occurs
Attack by an elephant in rut with its tusks on another elephant in rut, the strike increasing rut flow in latter	Fear of fire in city or kingdom
Elephant playfully twirls tusks in water	Fall of enemy elephant

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Elephant twirls its tusks in the forest or village	Troubles to forest elephants
If with its tusks goads the root of tusks of another	Loss of wealth to king
Troubles in middle portion of tusks	Afflicted by diseases

Tab. 5 Omens of the Odours and shapes observed when tusks are cut according to Rājaputra

Shapes and odours observed when tusks are cut	Omens/Predictions
Shapes of boat, horse, chariot, elephant, bull, pot, lotus observed when tusk is cut	Obtains wealth
Gems, pearls, coral, *Svastika*, ornaments.	Occurrence of diseases but is good for travel
Śakti (a weapon), *Śrīvṛkṣa* (sacred fig tree) or *Vardhamāna* (a sacred figure)	Victory in war, increase in prosperity to kingdom
White or pure items displayed with love when tusk is cut	Victory to king as well as increase in prosperity.
Lotus or horse shape is seen	Obtains land for a long time as directed by the king
Plough, umbrella, *Chakra* (discus), fan	Attack against enemies, king obtains women, gets good sleep and mental happiness
Sacrificial altar or *Kalaśa* (sacred pot)	Fruits of sacrifice or treasure are obtained.
Crocodile, frog, conch, lotus and its varieties – if such shapes are seen	Good rains
Svastika or shaped like a beautiful face	Obtains horses
Fish or tortoise shape	Good rain, no drought

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One sees the face of the lover in the shades of cut portions	King obtains queen
If tusk is of bad shape or smoky in color	Destruction of gold, kingdom, fear of thirst and diseases
If elephant scratches earth with tusks	Portends trouble to king, fear of enemies
Monkey or deer shape is seen in the cut part	Destruction of kingdom, disease
If seeing the sun, tusk is cut	Destruction of subjects
If the cut tusk gives odour of grains or yellow orpiment	Prosperity or increase in grains, Rains occur.
If cut tusk gives odour of sandal or fragrant aloe-wood tree	Victory to the king, obtains land
If cut tusk gives odour of garlands	Obtains wealth
If cut tusk gives odour of fragrant flowers or lotus	Auspicious
If cut tusk gives smell of cow-dung	Increase in cattle wealth

***Dantapuṣpaphalam* (Flower like marks on tusks of elephants) –**

During the course of their lifetime, some marks termed as '*Puṣpas*' (flowers) by ancient experts on elephants appear and disappear on the tusks of elephants. These aspects have not been studied by modern experts on elephantology although they have been treated in ancient '*Gajaśāstra*' texts. They are transitory in nature and come under the branch of physiognomy (*Sāmudrikaśāstra*) which classifies them into auspicious and inauspicious categories. Some information on '*Puṣpas*' in elephants as mentioned in the '*Hastihṛdayaprabandha*' quoted by Mitra Miśra have been discussed in earlier literature[48].

48 Sheshadri, K. G., *"Elephantology in extracts from the Hastihṛdayaprabandha"*, Ibid., pg. 165-166.

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Rājaputra gives an excellent account of the *Puṣpas* appearing on the tusks that indicate his close observations. The omens pertaining to these *Puṣpas* are tabulated briefly in Tab. 6. Rājaputra states that *Puṣpas* may be multicolored black, red, white, yellow or of some special color. He adds that one must consider those that are clear and of different colours as auspicious and disregard the others (as inauspicious) –

लक्षयेत् सर्ववर्णेषु यत् स्निग्धं स्पृष्टमेव च । विद्यात् तु पूजितं पुष्पमन्यत् तु परिवर्जितम् ॥

***Dantarājīphalam* (Line or spots on tusks of elephants) -**

The '*Kalpanāratna*' [I.17-18] of Śivamāra Bhūpāla defines '*Bindus*' and '*Rājī*' on tusks of elephants

तदा पुटानि दन्तेषु जायन्ते मनुजाधिप । करीरिकाश्रितं रक्तं विक्षिप्तं वायुना बहिः ॥
बिन्द्वाभां बिन्दुसंज्ञं स्याद् दीर्घराजीति कीर्तितम् । करीरिस्थान् क्षतिगुणान् वायुः संवर्ध्य शेषयेत् ॥

"The blood at root of tusks of elephants is forced out by the air and causes *Bindu* (or spot). The marks which are like drops of water are called '*Bindu*'. It is also called '*Dīrgharājī*'.The wind may enhance the effects of the wound and keep the wound festering".

The omens of such lines or spots appearing on the tusks of elephant have also been observed by Rājaputra and tabulated in Tab.7.

***Dantakālimādiphalam* (Blackness or Faded aspects of Tusks) -**

Rājaputra's observations on tusks are very keen and interesting. He devotes a section on the omens based on faded nature of tusks that is not dealt in other texts. These observations on faded aspects of tusks are briefly tabulated in Tab.8.

***Dantavṛddhiphalam* (Growth increase of tusks of elephants) -**

Śivamāra Bhūpāla makes some observations on the growth of tusks of elephants in the '*Kalpanāratna*' [III.77b-83]. He states that tusks of elephants which move in rivers (both in riverine and mountainous regions) or only on mountains grow sufficiently in three, four and five years respectively. So according to the number of years, tusks should be cut. He adds that for riverine elephants, for those that move in mountains and rivers and for those that are only mountainous

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ones, the normal growth of tusks in one year is 6, 4 and 2 inches respectively. If the growth exceeds this measure, then it is said to be fast growth.

षट् चत्वारि च तद् द्वे च समवृद्धिविषाणिनाम् ॥ अङ्गुलानां विवृद्धिः स्यान्नदीमिश्राद्रिचारिणाम् ।

- [III.79b-80]

Tab. 6. Omens of *Puṣpas* on the tusks of elephants according to Rājaputra

Characteristics of *Puṣpas* on tusks	Omens/Predictions
If cut surface of tusk displays *Puṣpas* that are white	King obtains land
If it displays shapes of a palace, a gem or stair shaped *Puṣpas*	King obtains kingdom
Puṣpas on tusks appear like *Indranīlā* and *Mahānīlamaṇi* (types of saphhires)	Good rain
Puṣpas appear yellow, white, shining, oily in nature during sunrise	Obtains gold
Puṣpas are shining; appear oily or glossy in nature	King get elephants, horse, destroys enemies
Puṣpas of rainbow colour	Good rain and prosperity
Puṣpas shaped like *Vajra* (diamond), Gems, Umbrella, Sun or a chariot	Auspicious
Shining *Puṣpas* on tusks appear like fan, *Vardhamāna* (a sacred figure), *Nandyāvarta* (a sacred figure), *Dhvaja* (flag), fish, grains, horse, elephant and bull.	Auspicious, increase in *vāhanas* (vehicles) to the king as well as increase in prosperity
Yellowish oily or glossy *Puṣpas*	Obtains gold and gems
Whitish *Puṣpas*	Obtains son
Yellow *Puṣpas*	Obtains silver, queens, female elephants
Gold colored *Puṣpas*, faded in nature or are impure	Great fear

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Smoky colored *Puspas*	No rains, city or kingdom gets burnt
Improper shapes of chariot, horse or elephants	Destruction of king's vehicles or mounts
Shapes of black serpent, boar or ass like *Puṣpas*	Destruction of kingdom
Puṣpas shaped like black serpent, tiger or of the color of blood	Brings misfortune
Many multicolored *Puṣpas* on tusks	Death to king
White *Puṣpas* that are faded	Destroys prosperity
Black *Puṣpas*	Diseases in country
Many multicolored or black *Puṣpas*	Death of subjects
Red *Puṣpas* always	Portents, death of king by weapons
Rough and dry yellow *Puṣpas*	Diseases and troubles to king
Black or red *Puṣpas* on tusks of female	Prince or queen falls into bad habits or ways

Tab. 7. Omens of lines on tusks of elephants according to Rājaputra

Characteristics of lines ('*Rājī*') or spots (Bindu)	**Omens/Predictions**
Lines shaped like arrows, *śakti*, bow, discus, trident, spear with a sharp edge (*paṭṭiśa*) on front tip	Auspicious to king
Lines similar to tusks that is within the interior of the tusk	Increases strength of a king
Lines on top of tusks	Gets a beautiful queen
Lines on the outside, sides and bottom portions of tusk	Destroys ministers, increase of enemies
Criss-cross lines (*Tiraścina Rājī*) on tusks and it breaks and falls	Destroys country and king
Long criss-cross lines on tusks	No rains for three years

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Tab. 8. Rājaputra's observations of faded aspects in tusks of elephants

Characteristics of fading in tusks	Omens/Predictions
At the root or tip of tusks, it is faded	Portends trouble to the country
At the middle of tusk	Troubles to ministers, princes and great fear
Faded all over either to the right or left of tusk	Destruction of king and kingdom
Either one of the right or left tusks are faded	If right tusk is faded then portends troubles to king. If left tusk is faded it destroys fruits of any travels. If both the tusks, then it forebodes destruction of the king.
Tusk is full of burning sensation in morning or night	King lives long in his kingdom
Tusk looks smoky in appearance	Fear from fire
Tusk is faded at the bottom or right	Splitting of family of king or destruction of queen
Tusk is faded and has discharges at the root	Portends fear to king

Śivamāra also states that there is growth of tusks in elephants in the first stage (of 25 years) and also in the second stage. When it is aged 60 years, the growth of tusks will decrease. From the 74th year, there is no growth. Rājaputra also briefly gives his views regarding growth of tusks. He states –

मूलायामेषु यो दन्तोऽनाहाद्वर्धेत दन्तिनः । यातुर्गजस्य राज्ञस्य तदा वृद्धिमथादिशेत् ॥
मध्ये वर्धेतानाहेन महामात्रविवृद्धये । वृद्धेऽग्रदन्ते सैन्यानां वृद्धिर्गजपदस्य च ॥ सर्वथा वर्धते
दन्तो यदि नागस्य मूलतः । ससुतस्य सराष्ट्रस्य नृपस्यायुर्विवर्धयेत् ॥

"An elephant whose tusks have grown in length up to its root (or origin) forebodes growth (of prosperity) of the king while that which has grown up to middle indicates growth of ministers (in the kingdom), those that grow up to the tip

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indicate growth of elephants in the army, that which has over-all growth of the tusk throughout its length forebodes the lengthening of age of the sons, king as well as his kingdom".

He also adds that if there is growth in the height of right tusk, it forebodes the growth of the king and his wealth. If there is growth in the height of left tusk, it forebodes growth (or profit) in travels.

Dantasrāvaphalam

The '*Adhbhutasāgara*' [Section on *Gajādbhutāvarta*] of Ballālasena states that there are discharges that occur from the root of tusks in elephants and quotes the views of Sage Parāśara, Varāhamihira, Sage Pālakāpya and Rājaputra. Sage Pālakāpya in his *Hastyāyurveda* [*Śalyasthāna, Dantanāḍīcikitsā*, Chap. 17] deals on such disorders of the tusks wherein there is affliction followed by discharges with bad smell accompanied by yellow colored liquid from infected tissues, blood or worms in the tusk regions. He mentions about several herbal medications for treatment of these discharges (*Srāva*) from tusk regions. Rājaputra mentions about observing the discharges that arise at the region of tusks and if blood comes out, he states that one must collect it. Then one must carefully cut off the tusks (by an instrument) to a depth of five *Aṅgulas* and drive the elephant to the forest. One must then perform a pacificatory ceremony for it and offer a feast to Brahmins as stated in the text –

यदि चेत् कल्पमानेषु शोणितं संप्रदृश्यते । गृहीत्वा शोणितं सद्यः कुर्यात् पश्चाङ्गुलं मुखे ॥
छित्वा तस्य विषाणे तु वनमेव प्रवेशयेत् । कुर्याच्छान्तिं यथोक्तं च तथैव द्विजभोजनम् ॥

[H] *Nīrājanavidhi* (Pacificatory Ceremonies for Elephants) -

Several ancient '*Gajaśāstra*' texts advocate pacificatory ceremonies for elephants. The '*Hastyāyurveda*' of Sage Pālakāpya advocates the performance of *Rākṣoghnā* (a sacrifice performed at night to appease spirits that trouble an elephant), secret food eating (*Guptabhojana*) and performing '*Bali*' (offerings to spirits) as stated in the text. Such pacificatory ceremonies are elaborated in recent

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literature[49]. Rājaputra also elaborates some pacificatory ceremonies in various contexts that are elaborated in the available extracts. In the context of rut flow in elephants with discharges accompanied by blood coming out from the mouth or upper regions of head, Rājaputra advises the performance of *Nīrājanavidhi* in the night. After this the female elephant that has such a condition should be taken to the enemy camp and released there. It troubles them until they retreat to the forests. Thereafter one must perform a sacrifice, offering '*Bali*' and food followed by a feast to Brahmins giving them suitable *Dakṣiṇā* (sacrificial fees). Similarly if rut flow occurs early in the morning or late in the night, one must perform a pacificatory ceremony. Likewise he also mentions about pacificatory ceremonies if blood flows down from the tusk regions or while cutting tusks.

[I] *Nimittam* (Omens of Elephants) –

Several ancient texts elaborate on various omens about elephants. These include the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira, the *Bhadrabāhu Saṁhitā*[50] of Jain *Bhikṣu* Bhadrabāhu several *Gajaśāstra* texts, the *Śivatattvaratnākara* of Keladi Basavarāja or the '*Mānasollāsa*' of Chālukya Someśvara and so on. Rājaputra's views on *Nimitta* are more concentrated regarding the tusks of elephants, their emotions, the mode of falling or their death. These omens are briefly tabulated in Tab. 9.

He states that these are based on its fall to the left or right as well as whether they occur in the bright or dark fortnights in a month –

वामेन चेत् पतेच्छुक्ले कृष्णे दक्षिणपक्षतः । हस्ती यदा तदा ब्रूयात् पतनं वा फलं ध्रुवम् ॥

[J] *Vījanavidhiḥ* (Waving of Ears or Trunk of an Elephants) -

Although many *Gajaśāstra* texts do not treat about the waving of ears elaborately in a separate section, some glimpses of the waving of ears are mentioned

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49 Sheshadri, K.G., *"Elephant Behaviour in the Night according to Sage Pālakāpya"*, *Gajah* – Journal of the Asian Elephant Specialist group, Sri Lanka, Vol.42, 2015, pg. 41-43.

50 Shastry, Nemichandra (ed.), Bhadrabāhu Saṁhitā, Bharatiya Jnanapith, New Delhi, 2001.

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by Sage Pālakāpya in his *Hastyāyurveda.* The extracts of Rājaputra's views on irregular fanning of ears or trunk (*Vījanavikṛti*) is quoted by '*Adhbhutasāgara*' [Section on *Gajādbhutāvarta*] of Ballālasena as –

देशे त्वदंश मशके ह्यव्रणो यत्र वारणः । हस्तेन वीजति मुहुस्तत्पराभवलक्षणम् ॥

Thus from the contents of the extracts of Rājaputra available in various ancient texts, it is possible to know that indeed this was an elaborate text that has not yet been fully discovered. However, the extracts do not deal on other aspects of elephants such as their origin, the forests wherein they dwell, sound production, seasonal behaviour, diseases, the pregnancy conditions and their capturing methods. Further discovery of any extracts of *Rājaputrīya* in untapped literary sources may throw light on the observations made on these aspects by Rājaputra.

Tab. 9. Omens of elephants according to Rājaputra's views

Characteristics of fall/tusk/emotions etc.	Omens/Predictions
If the elephant falls into fire with its face turned to the right, with trunk and tail caught in fear.	Inauspicious or Ominous
Tusk falls to right and elephant then falls with head to right	Bad habits to ministers
Elephant is seated facing east is distressed and dies	*Dasyus* increase as well as anger among subjects
If being sorrowful, the elephant falls with the trunk or face turned to right, then turning to the left dies	Portends anger and destruction of king's wealth
Holding on to a post, leaving its place then, revolving and looking to the left, falls to right with the face looking towards the right	Portends kingdom falling into enemies hands
If elephant comes out and falls opposite to the stable	Fear to village

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If after taking bath, the elephant does not drink water and falls to the left and dies	No proper rains
If accompanied by another elephant it falls on the earth and dies or while facing the sky it dies	Fear of drought
Elephant falls in the fire and dies with its face and four legs facing the sky	Portends king's death
If moving anticlockwise, the female elephant falls	Forebodes gain of wealth
If staying at the post the elephant falls to the left	Ominous to the king
If at the post, the elephant is killed and dies	Forebodes bad habits to traveller
If breaking the chains from the post, the elephant falls down	Bad habits occur to those looking after it
If breaking the chains from a post, elephant dies in stable with face turned down to the earth	Forebodes roaring among elephants for six months
With face turned to the right, elephant falls towards east in the stable and dies	Forebodes bad habits to members of army and ministers
Falls to the earth piercing the tusks	Great fear to the king and elephants
With great rut flow, runs fast with mouth wide open and dies	Trouble or destruction of *Śūdras*
Revolving in dark half of lunar fortnight (*Kṛṣṇapakṣa*) in a clockwise (*Dakṣiṇa*) fashion and dying in bright half of fortnight (*Śuklapakṣa*) after fall	Destroys brahmins and those well versed in knowledge.
An elephant with pointed hair, soft breasts, black feet and face, reddish eyes falls to the left with head spreading to the right side	Destruction to ladies of harem

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CONCLUSIONS

Several Sanskrit and regional treatises on elephants deal on the characteristics, behaviour and treatment of diseases. Some of these texts are published while others are still available in the form of manuscripts in various libraries in India and abroad as discussed earlier. An elaborate treatment of various diseases, their causes, diagnosis and remedies are dealt in Sage Pālakāpya's *Hastyāyurveda*. The '*Gajaśāstram*' of sage Pālakāpya is available in two editions in Sanskrit with one being illustrated and published from Tanjore[51] and the other having the Sanskrit commentary *'Bhāvasandarśinī'* of Anantakṛṣṇabhaṭṭāraka[52]. The existence of a text on elephants by Rājaputra cannot be doubted as it has been quoted as an ancient authority in various texts as has been discussed. However the identity of Rājaputra is difficult although the *Purāṇas* attribute him to be Budha, son of Somarāja (the Moon). However, the text was regarded highly as even Sage Pālakāpya quotes his views. It cannot also be yet confirmed as to whether the complete text of '*Rājaputrīya*' was available in ancient times to authors such as Somadevasūri, Kumārilabhaṭṭa, Ballālasena, Godāvara Miśra and Mallinātha. Moreover it is surprising that extracts of his work are not copiously quoted by Kauṭilya or Varāhamihira in their texts. The later authors such as Mitra Miśra, Mādhava and Nīlakaṇṭha probably borrowed extracts from works of earlier writers who quoted Rājaputra. Likewise Keladi Basavarāja or Chālukya Someśvara also do not copiously quote *Rājaputrīya*. From this, it is possible that the entire text was lost in ancient times and only extracts of the work were available to later writers. The contents of the '*Rājaputrīya*' are however rich and found to be interesting as he gives several details that are not discussed in other elephant treatises. These include several observations on the rut flow in male and female elephants, the whorls, cutting, breaking and other aspects of tusks of elephants. Most of the observations on rut flow, the tusks and its behaviour are scientific and need to be verified by modern elephantologists that would enrich our understanding of elephants. These

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51 Gopalan, S., *Gajaśāstram* of *Pālakāpya Muni – With extracts from other works and colored illustrations*, Text in Sanskrit with Translation in Tamil by Śāstri, K. S. Subrahmanya., Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library Series No. 76, Tanjore, 1958.

52 Mahiskar, Vaidya, Prof. V. B., Wakankar, Siddharth Yashwant, *Ibid.*, 2006.

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will help in timely treatment of elephants suffering from these rut flows and dental problems. Moreover, Rājaputra gives various omens that are associated with elephant tusks that it seems that ivory business in ancient India, was a well-developed scientific art as one needed to be well acquainted with timing of cutting the tusks, the elephant's behaviour, the omens pertaining to royalty, subjects and the country. A thorough search in the various manuscript repositories of India and also abroad may yield the full text of '*Rājaputrīya*' if it is available. Further examination of the other manuscripts of the text discovered in untapped manuscript repositories may give a clue about the dates of scribes, the author and thus allow one to trace the history of the text chronologically. These will serve to bring out a good critical edition of the text of *Rājaputrīya* based on other untapped literary sources.

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INDIA, CHINA AND THE BUDDHIST LINK

C. Jayanarayanan

Introduction

Chinese traditions claim a hoary past of thousands of years before Christ, under kings of heaven and earth. Archaeological finds sustain a claim of antiquity not earlier than of Shang culture that existed 1700 years before Christ. There was no consolidated political State or Empire during Shang and Chou periods, till the Duke of Chin overpowered other confederating States and installed himself as Emperor of China. His real name was Wang-Ching. He wanted history to remember him as the first emperor so he adopted a new name Shih- Huang -Ti on ascending the throne in 246 BC. He not only wanted him to be remembered as the first emperor but also wanted to wipe out the memory of the past rulers and feudal lords. So he ordered burning of all books including the classics of Confucius. A few Confucian works that were hidden, were dug out during the reign of Han Empire in 206 BC. Those are the only literature to establish the cultural antiquity of China. On the other hand, our Vedic literature reveals a glorious past beginning from 3000 BC.

Chinese tradition also claims that their celestial Kingdom is the centre of the universe and the original source of culture. The rest of world is barbarian. They continued to stick to this fallacy even up to the closing years of Manchu Empire. This betrays their ignorance of geography and a jingoistic strain in their national character. The reality is that the original China of the Han tribes were settlers in the region laying between the upper reaches of Yangtze and Yellow rivers. They were pushed by the Shing-nu (Hun) tribes and they moved

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into coastal region, then under occupation of Shan Tribes. Shan tribes moved further south into Annam (Vietnam). Thus history of China is the story of the tribes constantly on the move. However while those who moved in adopted the Chinese culture, the outgoing migrants also carried their cultural baggage to the new areas. Except for the short durations under the reign of Han, Tang, Mongol and Manchu empires, China was a cultural entity than a Nation-State in the modern sense.

Chinese Indifference to Faith and Spirituality

One aspect of Chinese culture is strikingly similar to that of India. Like us Chinese people have not imposed on themselves any organized religion and are consequently free from the rigors of regimentation. In China, there are Buddhists who follow the ethical teachings of Confucius or the mystical ways of LaoTse. Except for the followers of the Semitic faiths, a Chinese citizen can simultaneously follow the teachings of all including that of Gautama Buddha. Chinese Historian, C P Fitzgerald comments on this peculiar characteristic of Chinese people:

It would be a mistake to present this national conversion as a complete break with the religious past, such as marked the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity. Strange as it may seem to Westerners, the Chinese have a capacity for believing, at least honoring, several apparently incompatible doctrines at the same time.[1]

Spirituality - Kernel of Indian Traditions

The term "religion" in the Semitic sense is regimentation which is alien to both Indian and Chinese civilizations. In the purely Indian milieu of religious traditions there are *Sanātana Dharma*, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism and several sects that accept or reject the authority of Vedas. What is common to all of them is a quest or enquiry into the ultimate reality of the world as perceived by sense organs *(indriyas)*. Preachers of these sects or theories have unambiguously stated that the world as perceived by the sense organs is an illusion and in fact is the manifestation of the cosmic power - Brahman for the

1. Fitzgerald, c.p., China,The Cresset Press, 1950, p.280

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Sanātani and the goal of the individual self should be to realize that ultimate reality *paramātmā*. The kernel of Hindu faith or philosophy can best be summed in the opening verse of *Īśopaniṣad :*

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत्।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्यस्विद्धनम् ॥

(Om. All this- whatsover moves on the earth - should be covered by the Lord. Protect (yourself through that detachment). Do not covet anybody's wealth. Or do not covet, for whose is wealth?).[2]

Thus detachment and renunciation are the two cardinal virtues of Hinduism and its Indic variants.

Philosophical Traditions of China

Ancestral worship was the only ritual that existed in China. Swami Vivekananda stated;

"In fact, the only religion that can really be said to flourish in China is that of ancestor worship. Thus it seems on the one hand, a very good position is made out for those who hold the theory of ancestor worship as the beginning of religion"[3]

There were certain rituals of fertility like ceremonial ploughing of the field by the King (son of heaven). There were barbarous practices like throwing virgins into the river to appease the river god.

The archaeological finds of Shang Civilization support this assumption. China did not pursue divinity any further and was content with philosophical enquiries. When we talk of philosophical traditions of China, the first to be mentioned is Confucius, who was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha. His teachings were moral or ethical. He was never concerned with the question whether there is life after death or there is transmigration of soul. He preached absolute loyalty to the rulers and love towards the nation. He was a protagonist

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2. Swami Gambhirananda, *Īśopaniṣad* (English Rendering of Eight Upaniṣads), Vol.I, 1997
3. *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*, Vol.II ,Advaita Ashrama 1989, p.58

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of the aristocracy. In these days, his teachings are more likely to be termed as reactionary. However long after his death, he continued to be relevant and throughout the History of Imperial China, teachings of Confucius were the guiding principles of civil administration. Even an essentially alien Dynasty i.e. Manchu Empire made Confucian thoughts compulsory for the competitive examinations. Close on the heels of Confucius, flourished hundred schools of philosophy in China. Chief among them is the School of Legists that flourished In the State of Chin. This was more or less a military State and therefore their philosophy was quiet opposed to that of the Confucians who advocated moral and ethical values as well as universal love. The school of Legists founded by Hsun Tzu declared that "the nature of man was evil, not good, and in consequence it was useless to attempt to reform society by preaching idealistic doctrines. The history of the past, they further declared, was of little value as a pattern for present policy, for times had changed. They therefore exalted the law and the authority of the State"[4]. This phase of Chinese Philosophy is even devoid of an element of humanity, not to speak of spirituality. In the milieu of conflicting doctrines of Confucius and Legists, a genuinely humane philosophy of Mo Tzu (500-420 BC) was ignored. He advocated universal love:

"When head of houses love one another there will be no more mutual usurpation. When individuals love one another there will be no more mutual injury... When all the people in the world love one another then the strong will not overpower the weak, then, many will not oppress the few, the wealthy will not mock the poor, the honored will not disdain the humble, the cunning will not deceive the simple"[5]

The Chin revolution of 247 BC obliterated this philosophy that contained all the essential teachings of Jesus Christ who preached two centuries later. The short lived but historically relevant Chin dynasty and the Han Dynasty that followed, preferred Confucius only to the extent his teachings advocated loyalty to the Emperor. The Legists who advocated enforcement of law also flourished in those days.

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4. Fitzgerald c.p, *op. cit*, p.80
5. *Ibid*, The Works of Mo Tzu as Quoted at p.97

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Taoism and Its Degeneration

In third century BC, Taoists were prominent in China. Chuang Tzu a famous taoist taught a mystical doctrine, denying the power of human reason to arrive at any solution of life's problems. He preferred inaction to action. In one of his works that contained imaginary dialogues between him and Confucius, chief of the rival school of philosophy, who had passed away two centuries earlier, he recorded:

I gave up my body and discarded my knowledge. By thus getting rid of my body and mind, I became one with the infinite (with tao). This is what I mean by forgetting everything".[6] On the face of it, against the background of confucian and legists schools of philosophy, this dialogue is apparently absurd. However, we have to concede that Chinese genius was very near the doctrinal Buddhism that prescribed detachment and renunciation for salvation or *nirvāṇa*. In other words China was ready to accept the path of *dharma* or Buddhism. However by the time Buddhism actually arrived in China, Taoism had degenerated to a popular cult, whose adherents practised magic, charms, even alchemy. They did not accept this foreign religion and were hostile towards the Buddhist clergy. During Tsin Dynasty (265-316 AD), the seven saints of Bamboo Grove were famous for mysticism as well for their alcoholism. The educated class who were influential civil servants was strict adherents to Confucianism. They abhorred the Taoist teachings and rites. Alchemy is actually the parental science of chemistry. As it was being practised by the Taoists, the educated Chinese ignored it. "Gun powder had been discovered by Taoist investigators in their search for the "philosopher's stone", yet until the Mongol invaders put it to uses of war, the Chinese had only employed explosives in fire crackers used to scare away evil inluences"[7] This shows the amount aversion the Chinese intellectuals had against the Taoists. The philosophical milieu was profane and was devoid of an element of spirituality. Thus Swamiji had correctly asserted that China had no religion of its own.

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6. *Ibid*, p.87
7. *Ibid*, p.274

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Buddhism in China

Buddhism actually reached Northern China during the second half of the first century A.D. During the reign of Han Ming Ti in Northern China, Kaśyapa Mataṅga and Dharmāraṇya were invited to China. It is said that the emperor had a vision of a divine personality in the West and he deputed an embassy to bring them to China. They stayed at Lo Yang Monastery for translating *Tripiṭaka* into Chinese. It is probable that the establishment of Kushan Empire consisting North Western India and the entire Central Asia might also have facilitated evangelization of China, because the Kushan rulers, Buddhists themselves, were an allied tribe of Mongols. The Queen of the Emperor Kaniṣka was a Mughal and this relationship might also have resulted in spread of this faith to Mongolia and through them to China. Kumārajīva, a Buddhist teacher of Central Asian descent was at Chan-An monastery during the early decades of fifth Century. Two Chinese Pilgrims i.e. Fahien in A.D. 399 and Huen Tsang in A.D. 618 visited India and were well received by the Indian rulers, with whose help and encouragement they carried away Sanskrit texts containing Buddhist teachings for translation. It is accepted by all that by the close of 5th century A.D. the majority of Chinese population excluding the adherents of Taoist cult and Confucian civil servants were Buddhists. Taoists tried to suppress Buddhism and there were instances of repression by the rulers under their instigation. Fortunately for the Buddhists, China was politically unstable and when proscribed in one State, they could carry on in other states.

China Accepts *Mahāyāna* Buddhism

In India itself Buddhism had undergone a vertical split. The unorthodox sect *Mahāyāna* or the great vehicle was propagated in China, Tibet and Japan. *Mahāyāna* with its Bodhisattva legends was more appealing to the Chinese. *Mahāyāna* sect to Buddhism is what the puranic version of Hinduism to the religion of Vedas or Upaniṣads that contained sublime philosophical discussions. It is a fact that the simplicity of the teacher, his compassionate personality and above all his rational exposition had attracted the mass of Indian peasantry to Buddhism. Till then the elaborate rituals and sacrifices as prescribed in the Vedas as well as the rites practised by the Brahmins had kept the common man away from the scope of religion. In fact Buddha was the first to take

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religion to the door steps of the common man. Somewhat similar was the reception it got in China. There the common man was unable to choose between orthodox Confucians and Tao nihilists. Taoists borrowed ideas from Buddhists but accepted Buddha alone. Kou-Chein-Chi was an influential personality in the court of Wei Emperor. He describes"the Buddha as one who had found the Tao (way) among the western barbarians (Indians) and become an immortal. As such he might be honored, though not of course in a manner equal to Lao Tze, or other Taoist immortals of superior rank"[8]. This statement is a classic example of Chinese' conceit or jingoism. It also betrays their complete ignorance of the civilization in their neighborhood till Buddhism penetrated deep into the Chinese mainland.

An incident described in the biography of Swami Vivekananda by Swami Siddhinathananda (Malayalam) is worth quoting here. Swamiji enroute to America had got down at Canton, when the ship was anchored in that port. He along with other passengers went to visit a *BuddhaVihāra* where foreigners were not allowed entry. When the monks saw the foreigners approaching, they rushed with sticks to resist. All other tourists took to their heels. Swamiji was however non-pulsed. He told them loudly that he is a Hindu monk - the equivalent Chinese word he learned from the interpreter - from India. The Buddhist monks immediately threw away the sticks and prostrated before him. He was taken to the monastery. They requested him to bestow them *Kavaca* (amulets for protection against evil spirits). Though taken aback, Swamiji immediately wrote OM in small slips of paper and gave them. They carried these slips reverently on their heads and took Swamiji with due respects befitting a spiritual teacher. This incident occurred at the close of the nineteenth century. That century was tumultuous for the Chinese. European powers had busted the Manchu hyperbole and humbled them militarily. Japan was nibbling them in Manjuria. The Taiping rebellion of indigenous Christians, started with the blessings of European missionaries, had weakened the invincible empire internally. The victorious European powers imposed heavy penalty on the Chinese State and committed heinous atrocities against the Chinese people like setting fire to the famous Pecking Library and Museum.Therefore though subdued, they abhorred the foreigners who are considered barbarians from the

8. *Ibid*, p.272

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beginning of their history. As the Indian soldiers were the mainstay of British military power that enabled them to win the infamous opium war, part of that hatred was also directed towards us. Even then, the Buddhist elements considered India their holy land and Indian monks their preceptors. They also do not make any distinction between Hindu and Buddhist order of monks. Perhaps unlike our historians of the leftist hue, they were aware that "the Buddha was brought up and lived and died as Hindu"[9].Swamiji himself correctly told the Parliament of Religions on 26 Sep 1893: Again, I repeat, Śākya Muni came not to destroy, but he was the fulfillment, the logical conclusion. The logical development of the religion of the Hindus"[10].

In this speech Swamiji draws on the analogy of Jesus Christ, who despite being a Jew was not understood by his people. Similarly the Buddhists did not understand the import of the mission of the master that was to reform the Hindu religion that was then beset with decadent religious practices.

CONCLUSION

Buddhism was India's gift to the world and in the far east of Asian Continent, including China it was the only faith that was propagated centuries before the European incursions. Buddhism survived there because it was filling up a void. In India, Buddhism had a specific role of reforming the Vedic religion and having fulfilled that objective, disappeared. It is the only link that existed between Chinese and Indian civilizations. That link is still strong though it appears tenuous in view of the atheistic monopoly over the political milieu.

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9. Sister Nivedita and Anand Coomaraswamy, *Myths and Legends of Hindus and Buddhists*, 2001, p.229

10. *Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda*,Vol.I ,*op. cit*, p.21

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REVIEW

What the Buddha Taught by Walpola Rahula (with a Foreword by Paul Demieville), Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 2017 (First MLBD edition but was earlier published in UK in 1959), ISBN: 978-81-208-4107-9, pp: XVI + 103; Price - Rs. 225/- (Paperback).

What the Buddha Taught by Walpola Rahula is a comprehensive book of fundamental principles of the Buddhist doctrine as they are found in ancient texts '*Āgama*' (in Sanskrit) or '*Nikāya*' (in Pali). The teachings of Buddha mentioned in the book are more or less sustain their authentic nature though explained from the point of view of a 'humanist, rational and scientific nature person' who has a deep approach to Buddhism. 'Rev. Dr. Walpola Rahula received the traditional training and education of a Buddhist monk in Ceylon, and held eminent positions in one of the leading monastic institutes (Pirivena) in that island, where the Law of Buddha flourishes from the time of Aśoka and has preserved all its vitality up to this day' (Foreword, p. IX).

The book has the *Foreword* written by Paul Demieville, Member of the Institute de France, Professor at the College de France, and Director of Buddhist Studies at the School of Higher Studies (Paris).

The book is divided in eight chapters with illustrations of Buddha's images in different Buddha temples around the world in black and white. The first chapter 'The Buddhist Attitude of Mind' is the gist of Buddhist Philosophy. A non-Buddhist student/scholar can also thoroughly understand the basics of Buddhism and the meanings of Buddha's teachings. As he himself says in Preface that he wants to address 'educated and intelligent general reader, uninstructed in the subject, who would like to know what the Buddha actually taught' (XI, Preface).The basics of Buddha's teachings are explained by different events/stories mentioned in different '*suttas* (Sk:*sūtras*)'.

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Second chapter is about the famous 'Four Noble truths' (*cattāni ariyasatyani*; Sk: *catvāri Āryasatyāni*) taught by Buddha. The first one *Dukkha* is explained in this chapter, Second truth *Samudaya* : The Arising of *Dukkha*, is explained in third chapter, Third Truth *Nirodha* : The Cessation of *Dukkha*, is explained in fourth chapter, fifth chapter contains Fourth truth *Magga* :The Path. The strongest belief of Buddhism '*Anatta*' (Sk:*Anātmā*) - non existence of Soul - *ātmā* is explained thoroughly in chapter sixth. Buddhist kind of meditation '*Bhavana*' is discussed in chapter seventh titled 'Meditation' or Mental Culture : *Bhavana*'. The concluding eighth chapter 'What the Buddha Taught and the World Today' is very relevant since the author has tried to prove the relevance of Buddhism to Monks as well as to lay-people. His Noble Eightfold Path (*Ariya-atthaṅgika-magga*, Sk:*Ārya-aṣṭaṅgika-mārga*) which is the Buddhist way of life, is meant for all, his sixth direction 'Nobel Discipline' (*ariyasseyya vinaye*) reflects different relations of a person to society, Five Precepts (*Pañca-śila*), four virtues of life is for layman (*upāsaka* of Buddhism). His Non-violence and Peace, Ten Duties of a king may create balance between powers and eradicate ever-looming fear of world war or Nuclear war.

The book contains 13 illustrations of Buddha's idols, various temples in the world. Though the numbers and details of illustrations mentions the list of 16 illustrations but, two illustrations of No. VII & VIII (between p. 48 to 49 are missing). In fact the sequence of numbering of illustrations is also mixed up a bit. After No.6, comes 11th & 12th then 9th & 10th. No. 7th & 8th are missing. The cover has a colourful illustration, copied from the wooden cover of a Ceylonese Palm-leaf manuscript of a Buddhist work.

The book was first published in 1959 in UK (Publishers not mentioned). The present Publisher does not bother to mention it as 'Reprint of 1959 edition' and presented it as 'First MLBD Edition: Delhi 2017' with an ISBN. But scholarly world is very grateful to them for providing this rare substantial work on Buddhism and its tenets by Walpola Rahula.

Oriental Institute
Vadodara

Sharmila Bagchi

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES (2017 - 2018)

Digitization Work:

The second phase of National Manuscript Mission's Digitization Project started on 10th Jan 2017 came to an end at 31st May 2018. In the second phase, the remaining paper manuscripts of first phase and all Palm Leaf Manuscripts (3469) were digitized. The project was started in 2014's 3rd November by NMM (National Mission for Manuscript) where all 30,295 are digitized.

This year we provided digitized copies of 40 Manuscripts to 25 scholars. Some of them personally came to collect them and to others, we sent them online on their request. Not only manuscripts but demand for printed books' copies from Oriental's Library is equally made by scholars. They include students, scholars or just readers who visit the Library in person, request for the digitized copy of a book, many people from all over India and abroad have asked for the copies of the books (GOS or our Gujarati publications) or old articles from Journal of Oriental Institute (our research Journal).

Printed Section:

Printed Section or the Library of the Institute is equally famous for its rich collection of books and Journals on Indology. The Library has a collection of 53,451 Books and bound Periodicals of 100 Journals which are received in exchange of Institute's Journal of Oriental Institute. Under UGC – XII Plan, a grant of Rs.1,10,000/- and 15000/- of Critical Edition Dept. (To be utilized before 31st March 2018) has been received for Purchase of books. This year 250 books were purchased with value of Rs. 1,30,000.

The Library of Oriental Institute is huge in the sense of housing many rare extinct, first edition of books and Journals being collected since many decades from its inception. But, the paper material of books and Journals cannot survive a very long

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age. So this year nearly 2300 books were discarded which were totally brittle, insect-eaten and harmful for other books on racks. A proper procedure was followed to declare them discarded. A team from main library of the University – Smt. Hansa Mehta Library, was appointed to supervise the work and make a list of discarded books.

The issues of various journals are getting bounded in 102 volumes in their respected series.

Publications:

This year Vol. 66 of **Journal of Oriental Institute** (JOI) and 53rd Vol. of **Svadhyaya** were printed and circulated. Preparations of 67th Vol. (collecting articles, sending them to experts etc.) were carried on and its Press-copy is sent to Press for printing. Collection of articles for 54th Vol. of Svadhyay is complete. Editing of articles for Press-copy is complete.

The fifth volume of Manuscript's Catalogue is also under print. First proof of the Volume has been checked. With the publication of this Catalogue, all the manuscripts of the Institute (30,299) will be known to the scholars of the world.

The Reprinting of *Saktisangamatantra* (Four volumes of earlier editions published in 1932, 1941, 1947 and 1978 respectively under GOS (*Gaekwad Oriental Series*) are compiled in one volume (this time) is started this year. A very important *Tantra* text comprising of *Kali, Tara, Sundari* and *Chinnamasta khanda* and edited by great Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharyya, is very much in demand by scholars and was out of print from a long time.

Reprint of '*Vadodara: Ek Adhyayana* (in Gujarati) & printing of IInd Vol. of *Svadhyayasuci* (first edition). Reprint of another Gujarati publication '*Chapaner - Ek Adhyayana* (both published under *Maharaja Sayaji Sahityamala* Series) is also being carried out.

In the Critical Edition Wing, the preparation of Critical Text and Critical Apparatus of *Vayupurana* is in progress. This year the third Vol. of *Markandeya Purana* is released to the readers.

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Seminars & Workshops:

This year, the Institute organized one seminar, two workshops, two lectures.

A National Seminar on **'Pandit K. S. Ramaswamy Shastri's Contribution to Manuscriptology and Critical Editing'** was organized at Oriental Institute on 16.12.2017. Mr. Himanjaya Paliwal, Prant Sanghatan Mantri of Sanskrit Bharati was Guest of Honour, Prof Mayuri Bhatia, Bhasha Bhavan, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad was the Chief Guest and Dr. Krishnaprasad Nirola, Prant Adhyaksa of Sanskrit Bharati presided the function. The seminar was attended by the Son, Grand-son, Grand-Daughter & Grand son-in-law of K.S. Ramaswamy Shastri. Nearly fifteen papers were presented by the participants in two sessions of the seminar. At the end of the programme, a short Sanskrit play on the life of Ramaswamy Shastri was presented.

Among two workshops organized by Oriental Institute, the first one was on Sarada Script from 26.2.2018 to 28.2.2018 (for three days); where 30 students were taught the Script by the expert Dr. Dharmendra Bhatt of Ahmedabad.

Another one day workshop on 'Methodology of Writing Research Articles' was arranged on 9.3.2018 for students and research scholars. Technicality of writing a research paper, use of Reference notes, foot notes, how to search libraries on Internet were explained by speakers. Prof. Sanjay Karandikar, Prof Mayaprakash Pandey, Prof. Rabindra Kumar Panda, Dr. Bhakti Gala and Mr. Kamaljit Singh Sindha were the invited resource persons.

Yoga Day:

The Institute celebrated the Inter-national Yoga Day with a Lec-dem by Dr. Sunita Patel for one and half hour on 21.6.2017. The three instructors who came with her, helped the participants to learn the 'asanas' properly. On 22.6.2017, Yoganiketana, Vadodara organized a seminar with collaboration of the Oriental Institute on 'आधुनिक जीवन मा मानसिक तणाव' where Psychiatrists, Doctors and Yoga-experts discussed the causes of mental stress and how to get rid of it.

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Lectures:

Seventeenth event of **Late Dr. U.P. Shah Memorial Lecture Series** was held on 23.2.2018 at Oriental Institute. This year Dr. Yadubir Singh Rawat, Former Director of Gujarat State Archaeology and Museum, O.S.D. in Sports, Youth & Cultural Activities Department, Government of Gujarat & Director (I/C), State Archaeology & Museums Directorate, delivered two Lectures on - "Archaeology of Early Historical Towns and Development of Buddhist Art & Architecture in North Gujarat" 1. With special reference to Hill Fort of Taranga and 2. With special reference to Archeology of Vadnagar .

Others:

On 21.2.2018, 'Matrbhasha-divas was celebrated with elaborations in Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Bundelkhandi by the staff-members of Oriental Institute.

Visitors at Oriental Institute:

Oriental Institute is known to Sanskrit scholars all over the world for its manuscript-collection. The scholars from far and near visit the Institute in search of Manuscripts' copies. Often people other than scholars, monks from different sects, students of schools and colleges also visit the Institute to have a look at our glorious past.

This year 50 visiting entries registered in the Institute apart from 72 students from Vibgyor High School, Vadodara; 110 students from Tejas Vidyalaya, Vadodara; 15 students from Museology, Faculty of Fine Arts, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda; 4 NRI students from Sarangpur (Swaminarayan Gurukul), Gujarat.

Distinguished Visitors at Institute

S.N.	Date of visit	Name of the visiting person/s	Designation	Purpose of the visit
1.	1.4.17	Prof. Dr. Varsha Shirgaonkar, Mulund (East), Mumbai	Professor of Sanskrit at Mumbai University	To see the Institute.
2.	25.5.17	Mr. Narayan N. Madhu, Vadodara	Dy. Collector of Vadodara	To see the Institute.

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3.	23.6.17	Prof Tarashankar Pandey, Jagadguru Ramanandacharya Rajasthan Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya, Jaipur	Professor at Sahitya Vibhag	To see the Institute.
4.	29.6.17	Mr. Satyadhir Ram Agnihotri, Satyadhyana Vidyapitha, Mulund (West), Mumbai	Teacher	To see the Institute.
5.	29.6.17	Mr. Sumedh V. Jahangirdar, Satyadhyana Vidyapitha, Mulund (West), Mumbai	Teacher	To see the Institute.
6.	29.6.17	Mr. Visvapragyacarya Mahuli, Satyadhyana Vidyapitha, Mulund (West), Mumbai	Teacher	To see the Institute.
7.	10.7.17	Sadhu Brahmaprakash Swami, Shri Swaminarayan Temple, Karelibaug, Vadodara	Monk	For information on manuscripts.
8.	14.9.17	Lt. Col. Samir Mohite, Vadodara	Lt. Col. in Indian Army	To study vedic style of teaching.
9.	22.11.17	Dr. Gauri Krishnan, Vadodara	Freelance Curator & Art Historian	To see the MSs collection of Institute.

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10.	12.12.17	Mr. Rajiv Sharma, Kanpur (UP)	Election Commissioner (Gujarat Assembly Election)	To see the Institute
11.	16.12.17	Mr. V.R. Shastri, Coimbatore (TN)	Youngest son of K.S. Ramaswamy Shastri	To attend seminar on K.S. Ramaswamy Shastri
12.	16.12.17	Mr. Shankar Ganeshan, Mumbai (M)	Grand son-in-law of K.S. Ramaswamy Shastri	To attend seminar on K.S. Ramaswamy Shastri
13.	16.12.17	Mrs. K.Janakiraman, Mumbai (M)	Grand daughter of K.S. Ramaswamy Shastri	To attend seminar on K.S. Ramaswamy Shastri
14.	17.2.18	Mr. Rajiv R. Marathe, Pune	Lawyer	To see the Institute
15.	17.2.18	Ms. Bharati Sahasrabuddhe, ABP Majha (T.V. Channel), Mumbai	T.V. Reporter	To do shooting on Institute.
16.	17.2.18	Mr. Ravindra Vinayak Manjrekar, Thane (West)	Journalist	To see the manuscripts.
17.	11.3.18	A group of four students from USA and UK, studying at BAPS, Sarangpur (Guj.)	Students	To see the Institute.

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JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

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SPECIAL FEATURES :

Articles on Indology, Vedic studies, textual and cultural problems of the Ramayana, Epics & Puranas, notices of Manuscripts, reviews of books, survey of the rare works forming The Maharaja Sayajirao University Oriental Series, are some of the special features of this Journal.

Contributors to Note :

1. The Titles of Sanskrit/Non-Sanskrit works in transliteration should be in Italics with proper diacritical marks e.g. Rgveda, Svetasvara etc.
2. The names of certain General classes of works in transliteration should not be in Italics e.g. Vedas, Upanisads, Puranas, (but with diacritical marks).
3. Abbreviations of the titles of Sanskrit works should not be in Italics, e.g. RV (for Rgveda), SV (Samaveda) etc.
4. Proper names of person and place in transliteration, should not be in Italics e.g. Rama, Prayaga etc.
5. Epithets (adjectives) in transliteration should be in Italics e.g. Paulasatya, Kartavirya.
6. In the Article Sanskrit quotations (Slokas in part or complete) should be in Devanagari (In foot-notes also), Non-English stray words/ Sanskrit/ Prakrit words must be written in transliteration, in Italics and with proper diacritical marks.
7. Whenever an Abbreviation is used in an article, its full form should be stated in first occurrence and then that abridged form may be used for that full form in all over the article.
8. Reference should appear in footnotes at the bottom of each page. Foot-Notes below each page in running numbers should be with complete details in the following order:

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9. For 'Book Reviewers', the order of Book's description (to begin with) should be i) Name of the book (in Italics) with Vol. No. (if any), ii) Name of the Author /Editor, iii) Publisher, iv) Place, v) Year of Publication (with Edition), vi) Pages and Price, vii) ISBN (if there is any). The name of the reviewer should appear to the right side of the end and his/her address to the left side of the end.
10. Size of Fonts: Times New Roman in size 16 (bold & Cap) for Title, for body No. 14, for Foot-notes No. 10 with standard margin.
11. The Copyright of all articles published in the Journal will rest with the Oriental Institute.
12. A Contributor will be provided with a Complimentary copy of the Journal along with 10 Off-prints of the article.
13. The type written original manuscript should be submitted in A4 size paper (typed on 1 side) to the Director along with the soft copy sent online in MS Word format with PDF along with Sanskrit and English fonts used in the article to - director-oriental@msubaroda.ac.in. Articles may be sent by post to :

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